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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO
The REVOLUTION in 1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

A NEW EDITION.

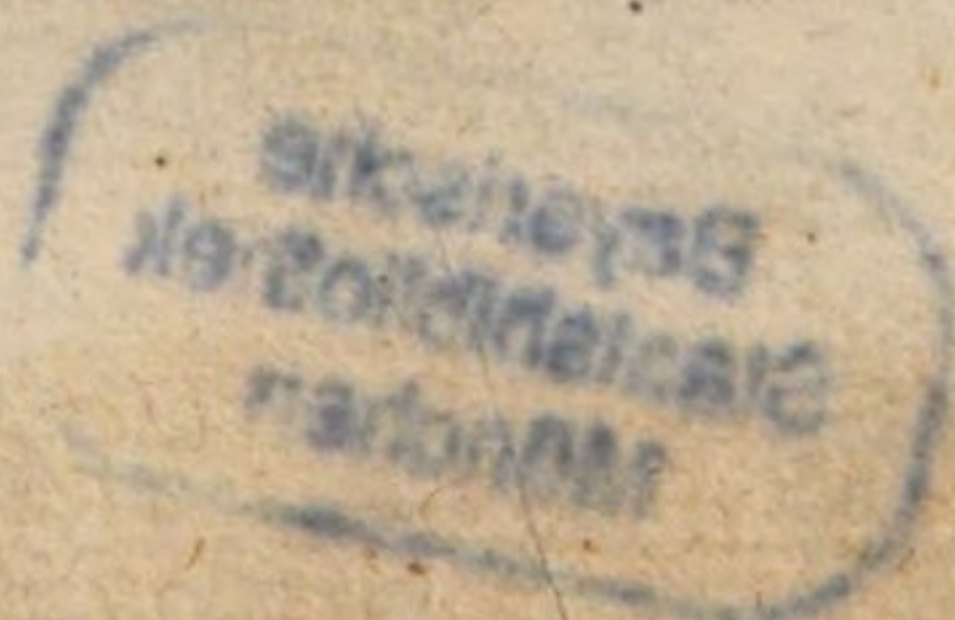
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C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
E L E V E N T H V O L U M E.

C H A R L E S II.

C H A P. LXIII.

New ministry — Act of indemnity — Settlement of the revenue — Trial and execution of the regicides — Dissolution of the convention — Parliament — Prelacy restored — Insurrection of the Millenarians — Affairs of Scotland — Conference at the Savoy — Arguments for and against a comprehension — A new parliament — Bishops' seats restored — Corporation act — Act of uniformity — King's marriage — Trial of Vane — And execution — Presbyterian clergy ejected — Dunkirk sold to the French — Declaration of indulgence — Decline of Clarendon's credit.

Page 1

C H A P. LXIV.

A new session — Rupture with Holland — A new session — Victory of the English — Rupture with France — Rupture with Denmark — New session — Sea-fight of four days — Victory of the English —

CONTENTS.

Fire of London — Advances towards peace — Disgrace at Chatham — Peace of Breda — Clarendon's fall — and banishment — State of France — Character of Lewis XIV. — French invasion of the Low Countries — Negotiations — Triple league — Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle — Affairs of Scotland — and of Ireland.

Page 59

CHAP. LXV.

A Parliament — The Cabal — Their Characters — Their counsels — Alliance with France — A Parliament — Coventry act — Blood's crimes — Duke declares himself Catholic — Exchequer shut — Declaration of indulgence — Attack of the Smyrna fleet — War declared with Holland — Weakness of the States — Battle of Solebay — Sandwich killed — Progress of the French — Consternation of the Dutch — Prince of Orange Stadtholder — Massacre of the de Wits — Good conduct of the Prince — A Parliament — Declaration of indulgence recalled — Sea fight — Another sea fight — Another sea fight — Congress of Cologne — A Parliament — Peace with Holland.

129

CHAP. LXVI.

Schemes of the cabal — Remonstrances of Sir William Temple — Campaign of 1674 — A Parliament — Passive obedience — A Parliament — Campaign of 1675 — Congress of Nimeguen — Campaign of 1676 — Uncertain conduct of the king — A Parliament —

C O N T E N T S.

Campaign of 1677 — Parliament's distrust of the king — Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary — Plan of peace — Negotiations — Campaign of 1678 — Negotiations — Peace of Nimeguen — State of affairs in Scotland. Page 212

C H A P. LXVII.

The popish plot — Oates's narrative — and character — Coleman's letters — Godfrey's murder — General consternation — The parliament — Zeal of the parliament — Bedloe's narrative — Accusation of Danby — His impeachment — Dissolution of the long parliament — Its character — Trial of Coleman — Of Ireland — New elections — Duke of Monmouth — Duke of York retires to Brussels — New parliament — Danby's impeachment — Popish plot — New council — Limitations on a popish successor — Bill of exclusion — Habeas corpus bill — Prorogation and dissolution of the parliament — Trial and execution of the five jesuits — And of Langborne — Wakeman acquitted — State of affairs in Scotland — Battle of Bothwell bridge. 289

C H A P. LXVIII.

State of parties — State of the ministry — Meal-tub plot — Whig and Tory — A new parliament — Violence of the commons — Exclusion - bill — Arguments for

C O N T E N T S.

*and against the exclusion — Exclusion - bill rejected
— Trial of Stafford — His execution — Violence of
the commons — Dissolution of the parliament — New
parliament at Oxford — Fitzbarris's case — Parlia-
ment dissolved — Victory of the royalists. Page 361*

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

C H A R L E S II.

C H A P. LXIII.

New ministry — Act of indemnity — Settlement of the revenue — Trial and execution of the regicides — Dissolution of the convention — Parliament — Prelacy restored — Insurrection of the Millenarians — Affairs of Scotland — Conference at the Savoy — Arguments for and against a comprehension — A new parliament — Bishops' seats restored — Corporation act — Act of uniformity — King's marriage — Trial of Vane — And execution — Presbyterian clergy ejected — Dunkirk sold to the French — Declaration of indulgence — Decline of Clarendon's credit.

CHARLES II. when he ascended the throne of his ancestors, was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a

C H A P.

LXIII.

1660.

VOL. XI.

B

C H A P. LXIII. 1660. manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harsh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the person amiable, without preventing that authority and regard, which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderness was excited by the memory of his recent adversities. His present prosperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. And as the sudden and surprising revolution, which restored him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no prince ever obtained a crown in more favorable circumstances, or was more blest with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects.

THIS popularity, the king, by his whole demeanor and behaviour, was well qualified to support and to increase. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of resentment, as well from the natural lenity as carelessness of his temper, he insured pardon to the most guilty of his enemies,

and left hopes of favor to his most violent opponents. From the whole tenor of his actions and discourse, he seemed desirous of losing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country.

INTO his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: The presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honor. Annesley was also created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis lord Hollis. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say, privy seal. Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

ADMIRAL MONTAGUE, created earl of Sandwich, was entitled from his recent services to great favor; and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: Yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of distinction. Charles's disposition, free from jealousy; and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never over-rated his merits; prevented all those disgusts, which naturally arise in so delicate a situation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extensive, and his parts were more solid than shining. Though he had distinguished himself in inferior stations, he was imagined, upon familiar acquaintance

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

New ministry.

4 HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660. ance, not to be wholly equal to those great achievements, which fortune, united to prudence, had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a scene of life to which he had never been accustomed. Morrice, his friend, was created secretary of state, and was supported more by his patron's credit than by his own abilities or experience.

BUT the choice, which the king at first made of his principal ministers and favorites, was the circumstance, which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and prognosticated future happiness and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister: The marquis, created duke of Ormond, was steward of the household: The earl of Southampton, high treasurer: Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. These men, united together in friendship, and combining in the same laudable inclinations, supported each other's credit, and pursued the interests of the public.

AGREEABLE to the present prosperity of public affairs was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The melancholy austerity of the fanatics fell into discredit together with their principles. The royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition, found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and fashion to their manners. From past experience it had sufficiently appeared, that gravity was very distinct from wisdom, formality from virtue,

and hypocrisy from religion. The king himself, who bore a strong propensity to pleasure, served, by his powerful and engaging example, to banish those four and malignant humors, which had hitherto engendered such confusion. And though the just bounds were undoubtedly passed, when men returned from their former extreme; yet was the public happy in exchanging vices, pernicious to society, for disorders, hurtful chiefly to the individuals themselves, who were guilty of them.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: But the parliament immediately fell into good correspondence with the king; and they treated him with the same dutiful regard, which had usually been paid to his predecessors. Being summoned without the king's consent, they received, at first, only the title of a convention; and it was not till he passed an act for that purpose, that they were called by the appellation of parliament. All judicial proceedings, transacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were ratified by a new law. And both houses, acknowledging the guilt of the former rebellion, gratefully received, in their own name and in that of all the subjects, his majesty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

THE king, before his restoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to despair, and at the same time unwilling that such enormous

C H A P.

LXIII.

1660.

Act of indemnity.

C H A P. crimes as had been committed, should receive a
 LXIII. total impunity, had expressed himself very cautiously in his declaration of Breda, and had promised an indemnity to all criminals, but such as should be excepted by parliament. He now issued a proclamation, declaring that such of the late king's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves: Some were taken in their flight: Others escaped beyond sea.

THE commons seem to have been more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper house, inflamed by the ill usage, which they had received, were resolved, besides the late king's judges, to except every one, who had sitten in any high court of justice. Nay, the earl of Bristol moved, that no pardon might be granted to those who had any wise contributed to the king's death. So wide an exception, in which every one, who had served the parliament, might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of some court-artifice or intrigue. But the king soon dissipated these fears. He came to the house of peers; and in the most earnest terms, passed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the necessity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promise: A promise, he said, which he would ever regard as sacred; since to it he probably owed the satisfaction, which at present he enjoyed, of meeting his people in parliament. This measure of the king's was received with great applause and satisfaction.

AFTER repeated solicitations, the act of indemnity passed both houses, and soon received the royal assent. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death, were there excepted: Even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were also excepted. St. John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sitten in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices. These were all the severities, which followed such furious civil wars and convulsions.

THE next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. In this work, the parliament had regard to public freedom as well as to the support of the crown. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievous burthen by the nobility and gentry: Several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchase this prerogative, together with that of purveyance; and 200,000 pounds a year had been offered that prince in lieu of them: Wardships and purveyance had been utterly abolished by the republican parliament: And even in the present parliament, before the king arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for the emoluments of these prerogatives. A hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum agreed to; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund

C H A P.

LXIII.

1660.

Settlement
of the revenue.

C H A P. LXIII. 1660. whence this revenue should be levied. Though that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the king's situation, which induced him to consent to it. No request of the parliament, during the present joy, could be refused them.

TONNAGE and poundage and the other half of the excise were granted to the king during life. The parliament even proceeded so far as to vote that the settled revenue of the crown for all charges should be 1,200,000 pounds a year; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. But as all the princes of Europe were perpetually augmenting their military force, and consequently their expense, it became requisite that England, from motives both of honor and security, should bear some proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the new system of politics, which prevailed. According to the chancellor's computation, a charge of 800,000 pounds a year, was at present requisite for the fleet and other articles, which formerly cost the crown but eighty thousand.

HAD the parliament, before restoring the king, insisted on any farther limitations than those which the constitution already imposed; besides the danger of reviving former quarrels among parties; it would seem, that their precaution had been entirely superfluous. By reason of its slender and precarious revenue, the crown in effect was still totally dependent. Not a fourth part of this sum, which seemed requisite for public expenses,

could be levied without consent of parliament; and any concessions, had they been thought necessary, might, even after the restoration, be extorted by the commons from their necessitous prince. This parliament showed no intention of employing at present that engine to any such purposes; but they seemed still determined not to part with it entirely, or to render the revenues of the crown fixed and independent. Though they voted in general, that 1,200,000 pounds a year should be settled on the king, they scarcely assigned any funds, which could yield two thirds of that sum. And they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of parliament.

IN all the temporary supplies, which they voted, they discovered the same cautious frugality. To disband the army, so formidable in itself, and so much accustomed to rebellion and changes of government, was necessary for the security both of king and parliament; yet the commons showed great jealousy in granting the sums, requisite for that end. An assessment of 70,000 pounds a month was imposed; but it was at first voted, to continue only three months: And all the other sums, which they levied for that purpose, by a poll-bill and new assessments, were still granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well assured of the fidelity of the hand, to which the money was intrusted. Having proceeded so far in the settlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned itself for some time.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1663.

13th Sept.

C H A P.

LXIII.

1660.

Trial and
execution of
the regi-
cides.

DURING the recess of parliament, the object, which chiefly interested the public, was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. The general indignation, attending the enormous crime, of which these men had been guilty, made their sufferings the subject of joy to the people: But in the peculiar circumstances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mind, seasoned with humanity, will find a plentiful source of compassion and indulgence. Can any one, without concern for human blindness and ignorance, consider the demeanour of general Harrison, who was first brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of sentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed, performed in a corner: The sound of it had gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered up his addresses to the divine Majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction: He had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction. That all the nations of the earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness compared with divine illuminations. That these frequent illapses of the divine spirit

he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwel, to shake his steady resolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendor and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles and his integrity.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

SCOT, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had said in the house of commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb-stone than this; *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death.* He supported the same spirit upon his trial.

CAREW, a Millenarian, submitted to his trial, *saying to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms.* Some scrupled to say, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country; because God was not visibly present to judge them. Others said, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than six of the late king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all

C H A P. those who came in upon the king's proclamation.
LXIII. He was a gentleman of good family and of a
1660. decent character: But it was proved, that he had a little before, in conversation, expressed himself as if he were nowise convinced of any guilt in condemning the king. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of justice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution, Coke, the solicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who inflamed the army and impelled them to regicide: All these were tried, and condemned, and suffered with the king's judges. No saint or confessor ever went to martyrdom with more assured confidence of heaven than was expressed by those criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were set before them. The rest of the king's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were dispersed into several prisons.

13th Sept.

THIS punishment of declared enemies interrupted not the rejoicings of the court: But the death of the duke of Gloucester, a young prince of promising hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The king, by no incident in his life, was ever so deeply affected. Gloucester was observed to possess united the good qualities of both his brothers: The clear judgment and penetration of the king; the industry and application of the duke of York. He was also believed to be affectionate to the religion and constitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the small-pox put an end to his life.

THE princess of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy, attending the restoration of her family, with whom she lived in great friendship, soon after sickened and died. The queen-mother paid a visit to her son; and obtained his consent to the marriage of the princess Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

AFTER a recess of near two months, the parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement. They established the post-office, wine-licences, and some articles of the revenue. They granted more assessments, and some arrears for paying and disbanding the army. Business, being carried on with great unanimity, was soon dispatched: And after they had sitted near two months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them.

6th Nov.

Dissolution
of the con-
vention par-
liament:
29th Dec.

THIS house of commons had been chosen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and though many royalists had crept in amongst them, yet did it chiefly consist of presbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aside their old jealousies and principles. Lenthall, a member, having said, that those who first took arms against the king, were as guilty as those who afterwards brought him to the scaffold, was severely reprimanded by order of the house; and the most violent efforts of the long parliament, to secure the constitution, and bring delinquents to justice,

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

were in effect vindicated and applauded ¹. The claim of the two houses to the militia, the first ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an usurpation, was never expressly resigned by this parliament. They made all grants of money with a very sparing hand. Great arrears being due by the protectors, to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of service; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without establishing funds sufficient for its payment. Yet notwithstanding this jealous care, expressed by the parliament, there prevails a story, that Popham, having founded the disposition of the members, undertook to the earl of Southampton to procure, during the king's life, a grant of two millions a year, land tax; a sum, which, added to the customs and excise, would for ever have rendered this prince independent of his people. Southampton, it is said, merely from his affection to the king, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made sensible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that such an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is no wise probable, that all the interest of the court would ever, with this house of commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon showed his prudence, no less than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

THE chancellor, from the same principles of

¹ Journals, vol. viii. p. 24.

conduct, hastened to disband the army. When the king reviewed these veteran troops, he was struck with their beauty, order, discipline, and martial appearance; and being sensible, that regular forces are most necessary implements of royalty, he expressed a desire of finding expedients still to retain them. But his wise minister set before him the dangerous spirit by which these troops were actuated, their enthusiastic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the king, that, till they were disbanded, he never could esteem himself securely established on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse, and 4000 foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this island. Lord Mordaunt said, that the king, being possessed of that force, might now look upon himself as the most considerable gentleman in England². The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and other towns, which had made resistance to the king during the civil wars, were demolished.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

CLARENDON not only behaved with wisdom and justice in the office of chancellor: All the counsels, which he gave the king, tended equally to promote the interest of prince and people.

² King James's Memoirs. This prince says, that Vener's insurrection furnished a reason or pretence for keeping up the guards, which were intended at first to have been disbanded with the rest of the army.

C H A P.

LXIII.

1660.

Charles, accustomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgment of this faithful servant, continued still to submit to his direction; and for some time no minister was ever possessed of more absolute authority. He moderated the forward zeal of the royalists, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the opposite party, he endeavoured to preserve inviolate all the king's engagements: He kept an exact register of the promises which had been made for any service, and he employed all his industry to fulfil them. This good minister was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Anne Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the duke of York, and under promise of marriage, had secretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared soon after the restoration; and though many endeavoured to dissuade the king from consenting to so unequal an alliance, Charles, in pity to his friend and minister, who had been ignorant of these engagements, permitted his brother to marry her³. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness, at the honor, which he had obtained; and said, that, by being elevated so much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more sudden downfall.

Prelacy
restored.

MOST circumstances of Clarendon's administration have met with applause: His maxims alone in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics have by

³ King James's Memoirs.

many

many been deemed the effect of prejudices, narrow and bigotted. Had the jealousy of royal power prevailed so far with the convention parliament as to make them restore the king with strict limitations, there is no question but the establishment of presbyterian discipline had been one of the conditions most rigidly insisted on. Not only that form of ecclesiastical government is more favorable to liberty than to royal power: It was likewise, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the house of commons, and suited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general disgust towards faction, and the authority of Monk had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full settlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a necessary and infallible consequence. All the royalists were zealous for that mode of religion; the merits of the episcopal clergy towards the king, as well as their sufferings on that account, had been great; the laws, which established bishops and the liturgy, were as yet unrepealed by legal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to give the superiority to presbyterianism, had been sufficient to involve the nation again in blood and confusion. Moved by these views, the commons had wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left the settlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

THE king at first used great moderation in the
VOL. XI. C

CHAP. execution of the laws. Nine bishops still remained
 LXIII. alive; and these were immediately restored to their
 1660. fees: All the ejected clergy recovered their livings:
 The liturgy, a form of worship decent, and not
 without beauty, was again admitted into the
 churches: But, at the same time, a declaration
 was issued, in order to give contentment to the
 presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation
 and neutrality *. In this declaration, the king
 promised, that he would provide suffragan bishops
 for the larger dioceses; that the prelates should,
 all of them, be regular and constant preachers;
 that they should not confer ordination, or exercise
 any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance
 of presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such
 alterations should be made in the liturgy, as
 would render it totally unexceptionable; that in
 the mean time, the use of that mode of worship
 should not be imposed on such as were unwilling
 to receive it; and that the surplice, the cross in
 baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus should
 not be rigidly insisted on. This declaration was
 issued by the king as head of the church; and
 he plainly assumed, in many parts of it, a legis-
 lative authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the
 English government, though more exactly defined
 by late contests, was not, as yet, reduced, in
 every particular, to the strict limits of law. And
 if ever prerogative was justifiably employed, it
 seemed to be on the present occasion; when all
 parts of the state were torn with past convul-

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii. p. 173.

fions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magistrate, to reduce them to their ancient order.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

BUT though these appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated episcopacy only seemed to be insisted on, it was far from the intention of the ministry always to preserve like regard to the presbyterians. The madness of the fifth-monarchy-men afforded them a pretence for departing from it. Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwel, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, issued forth at their head into the streets of London. They were to the number of sixty, completely armed, believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the same success, which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being questioned, said, "He was for God and king Charles," was instantly murdered by them. They went triumphantly from street to street, every where proclaiming king Jesus, who, they said, was their invisible leader. At length, the magistrates, having assembled some trainbands, made an attack upon them. They defended themselves with order as well as valor; and after killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-Wood near Hampstead. Next morning, they were chased thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured

Insurrection
of the Mil-
lenarians.

C H A P. again to invade the city, which was not prepar-
 LXIII. ed to receive them. After committing great
 1660. disorder, and traversing almost every street of
 that immense capital, they retired into a house,
 which they were resolute to defend to the last
 extremity. Being furrounded, and the house
 untiled, they were fired upon from every side;
 and they still refused quarter. The people rushed
 in upon them, and seized the few who were
 alive. These were tried, condemned, and execut-
 ed; and to the last they persisted in affirming,
 that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord
 that had deceived them.

CLARENDON and the ministry took occasion
 from this insurrection to infer the dangerous spirit
 of the presbyterians and of all the sectaries: But
 the madness of the attempt sufficiently proved,
 that it had been undertaken by no concert, and
 never could have proved dangerous. The well-
 known hatred too, which prevailed between the
 presbyterians and the other sects, should have
 removed the former from all suspicion of any
 concurrence in the enterprize. But as a pretence
 was wanted, besides their old demerits, for
 justifying the intended rigors against all of them,
 this reason, however slight, was greedily laid
 hold of.

Affairs of
 Scotland.

AFFAIRS in Scotland hastened with still quicker
 steps than those in England towards a settlement
 and a compliance with the king. It was deliberat-
 ed in the English council, whether that nation
 should be restored to its liberty, or whether the
 forts erected by Cromwel should not still be

upheld, in order to curb the mutinous spirit, by which the Scots in all ages had been so much governed. Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worcester to the restoration, had been detained prisoner in the Tower, had considerable influence with the king; and he strenuously opposed this violent measure. He represented, that it was the loyalty of the Scottish nation, which had engaged them in an opposition to the English rebels; and to take advantage of the calamities, into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the highest injustice and ingratitude: That the spirit of that people was now fully subdued by the servitude, under which the usurpers had so long held them, and would of itself yield to any reasonable compliance with their legal sovereign, if, by this means, they recovered their liberty and independence: That the attachment of the Scots towards their king, whom they regarded as their native prince, was naturally much stronger than that of the English; and would afford him a sure resource, in case of any rebellion among the latter: That republican principles had long been, and still were, very prevalent with his southern subjects, and might again menace the throne with new tumults and resistance. That the time would probably come, when the king, instead of desiring to see English garrisons in Scotland, would be better pleased to have Scottish garrisons in England, who, supported by English pay, would be fond to curb the seditious genius of that opulent

C H A P.
LXIII.
1660.

C H A P. LXIII. nation: And that a people, such as the Scots, governed by a few nobility, would more easily be reduced to submission under monarchy, than one, like the English, who breathed nothing but the spirit of democratical equality.

1661.
1st Jan.

THESE views induced the king to disband all the forces in Scotland, and to rase all the forts, which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the parliament, which was summoned. A very compliant spirit was there discovered in all orders of men. The commissioner had even sufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling, at once, all laws, which had passed since the year 1633; on pretext of the violence, which, during that time, had been employed against the king and his father, in order to procure their assent to these statutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled concession; and, together with many dangerous limitations, overthrew some useful barriers, which had been erected to the constitution. But the tide was now running strongly towards monarchy; and the Scottish nation plainly discovered, that their past resistance had proceeded more from the turbulence of their aristocracy and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics than from any fixed passion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were restored, with some other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretences, was, in its full extent, re-established in that kingdom.

THE prelacy likewise, by the abrogating of every statute, enacted in favor of presbytery, was thereby tacitly restored; and the king deliberated what use he should make of this concession. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a passionate zealot against episcopacy, endeavoured to persuade him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favorite point of ecclesiastical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the king. Charles, though he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scottish presbyterians, that he ever after bore them a hearty aversion. He said to Lauderdale, that presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not consent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton too and his other ministers persuaded him, that the nation in general was so disgusted with the violence and tyranny of the ecclesiastics, that any alteration of church government would be universally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the presbyterian sect, if legally established in Scotland, would acquire authority in England and Ireland, seconded the application of these ministers. The resolution was therefore taken to restore prelacy; a measure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniences: But whether in this resolution Charles chose not the lesser evil, it is very difficult to determine. Sharp who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their

C H A R.
LXIII.

1661.

C H A P. interests with the king, was persuaded to abandon
 LXIII. that party; and as a reward for his compliance,
 1661. was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The
 conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was chiefly intrust-
 ed to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and
 a renegade by his old friends, he became on that
 account, as well as from the violence of his
 conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

CHARLES had not promised to Scotland any
 such indemnity as he had ensured to England
 by the declaration of Breda: And it was deemed
 more political for him to hold over men's heads,
 for some time, the terror of punishment; till they
 should have made the requisite compliances with
 the new government. Though neither the
 king's temper nor plan of administration led him
 to severity; some examples, after such a bloody
 and triumphant rebellion, seemed necessary; and
 the marquis of Argyle and one Guthry, were
 pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indem-
 nity, one passed by the late king in 1641, another
 by the present in 1651, formed, it was thought,
 invincible obstacles to the punishment of Argyle;
 and barred all inquiry into that part of his con-
 duct, which might justly be regarded as the
 most exceptionable. Nothing remained but to
 try him for his compliance with the usurpation;
 a crime common to him with the whole nation,
 and such a one as the most loyal and affectionate
 subject might frequently by violence be obliged
 to commit. To make this compliance appear the
 more voluntary and hearty, there were produced

in court letters, which he had written to Albemarle, while that general commanded in Scotland, and which contained expressions of the most cordial attachment to the established government. But besides the general indignation, excited by Albemarle's discovery of this private correspondence; men thought, that even the highest demonstrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a necessary mark of compliance from a person of such distinction as Argyle, and could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The parliament, however, scrupled not to pass sentence upon him; and he died with great constancy and courage. As he was universally known to have been the chief instrument of the past disorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his sentence, and several iniquitous circumstances in the method of conducting his trial, seemed on that account to admit of some apology. Lord Lorne, son of Argyle, having ever preserved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a seditious preacher, and had personally affronted the king: His punishment gave surprise to no body. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston was attainted and fled; but was seized in France about two years after, brought over, and executed. He had been very active, during all the late disorders; and was even suspected of a secret correspondence with the English regicides.

BESIDES these instances of compliance in the Scottish parliament, they voted an additional

C H A P. revenue to the king of 40,000 pounds a year, to
 LXIII. be levied by way of excise. A small force was
 1661. purposed to be maintained by this revenue, in
 order to prevent like confusions with those to
 which the kingdom had been hitherto exposed.
 An act was also passed, declaring the covenant
 unlawful, and its obligation void and null.

IN England, the civil distinctions seemed to be
 abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's
 administration. Cavalier and Round-head were
 heard of no more: All men seemed to concur in
 submitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and
 in cherishing the just privileges of the people and
 of parliament. Theological controversy alone
 still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of
 that flame, which had thrown the nation into
 combustion. While catholics, independents, and
 other sectaries were content with entertaining
 some prospect of toleration; prelacy and presby-
 tery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes
 and fears of both parties kept them in agitation.

A conference was held in the Savoy between
 twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the
 presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least
 on pretence, of bringing about an accommoda-
 tion between the parties. The surplice, the cross
 in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the
 bowing at the name of Jesus, were a-new can-
 vassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes,
 that so many men of gravity and learning could
 not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree
 in all points of controversy: They were surprised
 to see them separate more inflamed than ever,

Conference
 at the Savoy,
 25th March.

and more confirmed in their several prejudices. To enter into particulars would be superfluous. Disputes concerning religious forms are, in themselves, the most frivolous of any; and merit attention only so far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil society.

THE king's declaration had promised, that some endeavours should be used to effect a comprehension of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all such questions seemed a favorable circumstance for the execution of that project. The partisans of a comprehension said, that the presbyterians, as well as the prelatists, having felt by experience the fatal effects of obstinacy and violence, were now well disposed towards an amicable agreement: That the bishops, by relinquishing some part of their authority, and dispensing with the most exceptionable ceremonies, would so gratify their adversaries as to obtain their cordial and affectionate compliance, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one worship: That by obstinately insisting on forms, in themselves insignificant, an air of importance was bestowed on them, and men were taught to continue equally obstinate in rejecting them: That the presbyterian clergy would go every reasonable length, rather than, by parting with their livings, expose themselves to a state of beggary, at best of dependence: And that if their pride were flattered by some seeming alterations, and a pretence given them for affirming, that they had not abandoned their former prin-

C H A P.

LXIII.

1661.

Arguments
for and
against a
compre-
hension.

C H A P. ciples, nothing farther was wanting to produce
 LXIII. a thorough union between those two parties,
 1661. which comprehended the bulk of the nation.

It was alledged on the other hand, that the difference between religious sects was founded, not on principle, but on passion; and till the irregular affections of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehension: That the more insignificant the objects of dispute appeared, with the more certainty might it be inferred, that the real ground of dissension was different from that which was universally pretended: That the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleasure of making profelytes, and the obstinacy of contradiction, would for ever give rise to sects and disputes; nor was it possible that such a source of dissension could ever, by any concessions, be entirely exhausted: That the church, by departing from ancient practices and principles, would tacitly acknowledge herself guilty of error, and lose that reverence, so requisite for preserving the attachment of the multitude: And that, if the present concessions (which was more than probable) should prove ineffectual, greater must still be made; and in the issue, discipline would be despoiled of all its authority, and worship of all its decency, without obtaining that end, which had been so fondly sought for by these dangerous indulgences.

THE ministry were inclined to give the preference to the latter arguments; and were the

more confirmed in that intention by the disposition, which appeared in the parliament lately assembled. The royalists and zealous churchmen were at present the popular party in the nation, and, seconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in most elections. Not more than fifty-six members of the presbyterian party had obtained seats in the lower house⁵; and these were not able either to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and episcopacy, were now exalted to as great power and splendor as they had lately suffered misery and depression. Sir Edward Turner was chosen speaker.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1661.

A new parliament.
8th May.

AN act was passed for the security of the king's person and government. To intend or devise the king's imprisonment, or bodily harm, or deposition, or levying war against him, was declared, during the life-time of his present majesty, to be high treason. To affirm him to be a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to alienate his subjects' affections from him; these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate the person guilty from holding any employment in church or state. To maintain that the long parliament is not dissolved, or that either or both houses, without the king, are possessed of legislative authority, or that the covenant is binding; was made punishable by the penalty of premunire.

⁵ Carte's Answer to the Bystander, p. 79.

O H A P.

LXIII.

1661.

THE covenant itself, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The people assisted with great alacrity on this occasion.

THE abuses of petitioning in the preceding reign had been attended with the worst consequences; and to prevent such irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands should be fixed to any petition, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the king or either house by above ten persons. The penalty annexed to a transgression of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months imprisonment.

Bishops' seats restored.

THE bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament by the law, which the late king had passed, immediately before the commencement of the civil disorders. Great violence, both against the king and the house of peers, had been employed in passing this law; and on that account alone, the partisans of the church were provided with a plausible pretence for repealing it. Charles expressed much satisfaction, when he gave his assent to the act for that purpose. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was interested in restoring the prelates to their former dignity. But those, who deemed every acquisition of the prince a detri-

ment to the people, were apt to complain of this instance of complaisance in the parliament.

C H A P.
LXIII.

1661.

20th Nov.

AFTER an adjournment of some months, the parliament was again assembled, and proceeded in the same spirit as before. They discovered no design of restoring, in its full extent, the ancient prerogative of the crown: They were only anxious to repair all those breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the sword had, in all ages, been allowed to be vested in the crown; and though no law conferred this prerogative, every parliament, till the last of the preceding reign, had willingly submitted to an authority more ancient, and therefore more sacred, than that of any positive statute. It was now thought proper solemnly to relinquish the violent pretensions of that parliament, and to acknowledge, that neither one house, nor both houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. The preamble to this statute went so far as to renounce all right even of *defensive* arms against the king; and much observation has been made with regard to a concession, esteemed so singular. Were these terms taken in their full literal sense, they imply a total renunciation of limitations to monarchy, and of all privileges in the subject, independent of the will of the sovereign. For as no rights can subsist without some remedy, still less rights exposed to so much invasion from tyranny, or even from ambition; if subjects must

C H A P. never resist, it follows, that every prince, without any effort, policy or violence, is at once rendered absolute and uncontroullable: The sovereign needs only issue an edict, abolishing every authority but his own; and all liberty, from that moment, is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it were absurd to impute to the present parliament, who, though zealous royalists, showed in their measures, that they had not cast off all regard to national privileges. They were probably sensible, that to suppose in the sovereign any such invasion of public liberty is entirely unconstitutional; and that, therefore, expressly to reserve, upon that event, any right of resistance in the subject, must be liable to the same objection. They had seen that the long parliament, under color of defence, had begun a violent attack upon kingly power; and after involving the kingdom in blood, had finally lost that liberty, for which they had so imprudently contended. They thought, perhaps erroneously, that it was no longer possible, after such public and such exorbitant pretensions, to persevere in that prudent silence, hitherto maintained by the laws; and that it was necessary, by some positive declaration, to bar the return of like inconveniences. When they excluded, therefore, the right of defence, they supposed, that the constitution remaining firm upon its basis, there never really could be an attack made by the sovereign. If such an attack was at any time made, the necessity was then extreme: And the case of extreme and violent necessity, no laws, they

they thought, could comprehend; because to such a necessity no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

THE other measures of this parliament still discovered a more anxious care to guard against rebellion in the subject than encroachments in the crown: The recent evils of civil war and usurpation had naturally increased the spirit of submission to the monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the parliament and of the protectors, all magistrates, liable to suspicion, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refused to subscribe the covenant. To leave all authority in such hands seemed dangerous; and the parliament, therefore, empowered the king to appoint commissioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling such magistrates as either intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles, dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should disclaim the obligation of the covenant, and should declare, both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to resist the king, and their abhorrence of the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him.

C H A P.
LXIII.

Corporations
act.

THE care of the church was no less attended to by this parliament, than that of monarchy;

1662.
Act of
uniformity.

C H A P. LXIII. 1662. and the bill of uniformity was a pledge of their sincere attachment to the episcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to presbyterianism. Different parties, however, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many severe clauses. The independents and other sectaries, enraged to find all their schemes subverted by the presbyterians, who had once been their associates, exerted themselves to disappoint that party of the favor and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the restoration, they thought themselves justly entitled. By the presbyterians, said they, the war was raised: By them was the populace first incited to tumults: By their zeal, interest, and riches were the armies supported: By their force was the king subdued: And if, in the sequel, they protested against those extreme violences, committed on his person by the military leaders, their opposition came too late, after having supplied these usurpers with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their sanguinary measures. They had indeed concurred with the royalists in recalling the king: But ought they to be esteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cause? Rage and animosity, from disappointed ambition, were plainly their sole motives; and if the king should now be so imprudent as to distinguish them by any particular indulgences, he would soon experience from them the same hatred and opposition, which had proved so fatal to his father.

THE catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court; and from their services and sufferings, during the civil wars, it seemed but just to bear them some favor and regard. These religionists dreaded an entire union among the protestants. Were they the sole nonconformists in the nation, the severe execution of penal laws upon their sect seemed an infallible consequence; and they used, therefore, all their interest to push matters to extremity against the presbyterians, who had formerly been their most severe oppressors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The earl of Bristol, who, from conviction, or interest, or levity, or complaisance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his religion during the king's exile, was regarded as the head of this party.

THE church-party had, during so many years, suffered such injuries and indignities from the sectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much less deference, was on this occasion to be expected in the ecclesiastics. Even the laity of that communion seemed now disposed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the usual measures of party-justice. This sect or faction (for it partook of both) encouraged the rumors of plots and conspiracies against the government; crimes, which, without any apparent reason, they imputed to their adversaries. And instead of enlarging the terms of communion, in order to comprehend the presbyterians, they

C H A P.
LXIII.
1662.

gladly laid hold of the prejudices, which prevailed among that sect, in order to eject them from their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required, that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the king.

THIS bill re-instated the church in the same condition, in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigor, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and of indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken. It is true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expressed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament: But this limitation could never reasonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his engagements. However, it is agreed, that the king did not voluntarily concur with this violent measure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church-party among the commons, seconded by the intrigues of the catholics, was the chief cause, which extorted his consent.

THE royalists, who now predominated, were

very ready to signalize their victory, by establishing those high principles of monarchy, which their antagonists had controverted: But when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither so forward nor so liberal in their concessions as the king would gladly have wished. Though the parliament passed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their sanction to this dangerous innovation. The king's debts were become intolerable; and the commons were at last constrained to vote him an extraordinary supply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly assessments. But besides that this supply was much inferior to the occasion, the king was obliged earnestly to solicit the commons, before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the house of its absolute necessity, he desired them to examine strictly into all his receipts and disbursements. Finding likewise upon inquiry, that the several branches of revenue fell much short of the sums expected, they at last, after much delay, voted a new imposition of two shillings on each hearth; and this tax they settled on the king during life. The whole established revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million⁶; a sum confessedly too narrow for the public expenses. A very rigid frugality at least, which the king

C H A P.

LXIII.

1662.

⁶ D'Estrades, 25th of July, 1661. Mr. Ralph's History, vol. i. p. 176.

C. H. A. P.

LXIII.

1662.

19th May.

King's marriage.

seems to have wanted, would have been requisite to make it suffice for the dignity and security of government. After all business was dispatched, the parliament was prorogued.

BEFORE the parliament rose, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had just landed at Portsmouth. During the time, that the protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to support the Portuguese in their revolt; and he engaged himself by treaty to supply them with 10,000 men for their defence against the Spaniards. On the king's restoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance; and in order to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, and a portion of 500,000 pounds, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa and Bombay in the East Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an opposite interest. The catholic king offered to adopt any other princess as a daughter of Spain, either the princess of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, some protestant princess, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange; And on any of these, he promised to confer a dowry equal to that which was offered by Portugal. But many reasons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portuguese

propofals. The great diforders in the government and finances of Spain made the execution of her promifes be much doubted; and the king's urgent neceffities demanded fome immediate fupply of money. The intereft of the Englifh commerce likewise feemed to require, that the independence of Portugal fhould be fupported, left the union of that crown with Spain fhould put the whole treafures of America into the hands of one potentate. The claims too of Spain upon Dunkirk and Jamaica, rendered it impoffible, without farther concessions, to obtain the cordial friendship of that power: And on the other hand, the offer, made by Portugal, of two fuch confiderable fortreffes, promifed a great acceffion to the naval force of England. Above all, the propofal of a proteftant princefs was no allurements to Charles, whose inclinations led him ftrongly to give the preference to a catholic alliance. According to the moft probable accounts⁷, the refolution of marrying the daughter of Portugal was taken by the king, unknown to all his

C H A P.
LXIII.
1662.

⁷ Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 254. This account feems better fupported, than that in Ablancourt's Memoirs, that the chancellor chiefly pushed the Portuguefe alliance. The feeret tranfactions of the court of England could not be fupposed to be much known to a French refident at Lisbon: And whatever opposition the chancellor might make, he would certainly endeavour to conceal it from the queen and all her family; and even in the parliament and council would fupport the refolution already taken. *Clarendon himfelf fays in his Memoirs, that he never either opposed or promoted the Portuguefe match.*

C H A P. ministers; and no remonstrances could prevail
 LXIII. with him to alter his intentions. When the
 1662. matter was laid before the council, all voices
 21st May. concurred in approving the resolution; and the
 parliament expressed the same complaisance. And
 thus was concluded, seemingly with universal
 consent, the inauspicious marriage with Catherine,
 a princess of virtue, but who was never able
 either by the graces of her person or humor,
 to make herself agreeable to the king. The report,
 however, of her natural incapacity to have chil-
 dren, seems to have been groundless; since she
 was twice declared to be pregnant^{*}.

THE festivity of these espousals was clouded
 by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkstead,
 Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides, had
 escaped beyond sea; and after wandering some
 time concealed in Germany, came privately to
 Delft, having appointed their families to meet
 them in that place. They were discovered by
 Downing, the king's resident in Holland, who
 had formerly served the protector and common-
 wealth in the same station, and who once had
 even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He
 applied for a warrant to arrest them. It had
 been usual for the States to grant these warrants;
 though at the same time, they had ever been
 careful secretly to advertise the persons, that
 they might be enabled to make their escape.

^{*} Lord Landsdown's Defence of general Monk. Temple,
 vol. ii. p. 154.

This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and dispatch of Downing. He quickly seized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coast, and sent them to England. These three men behaved with more moderation and submission than any of the other regicides, who had suffered. Okey in particular; at the place of execution, prayed for the king, and expressed his intention, had he lived, of submitting peaceably to the established government: He had risen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be a man of humanity and honor. In consideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given to his friends to be buried.

C H A P.

LXIII.

1662.

THE attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two distinguished criminals, Lambert and Vane. These men, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to prison. The convention-parliament, however was so favorable to them, as to petition the king, if they should be found guilty, to suspend their execution: But this new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive disputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: It extended only to his behaviour

Trial of
Vane,

C H A P. after the late king's death, as member of the
 LXIII. council of state, and secretary of the navy, where
 1662. fidelity to the trust, reposed in him, required
 his opposition to monarchy.

VANE wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time established in England, and the acknowledging of its authority were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whose innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons: That according to these maxims, wherever an illegal authority was established by force, a total and universal destruction must ensue; while the usurpers proscribed one part of the nation for disobedience, the lawful prince punished the other for compliance: That the legislature of England, foreseeing this violent situation, had provided for public security by the famous statute of Henry VII; in which it was enacted, that no man, in case of any revolution, should ever be questioned for his obedience to the king in being: That whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; nor ought the expelled prince to think himself entitled to allegiance, so long as he could not afford protection: That it belonged not to private persons, possessed of no power, to discuss the title of their governors; and every usurpation, even the most flagrant, would equally require obedience with the most legal

establiſhment: That the controverſy between the late king and his parliament was of the moſt delicate nature; and men of the greateſt probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they ſhould embrace: That the parliament, being rendered indiffoluble but by its own conſent, was become a kind of co-ordinate power with the king; and as the caſe was thus entirely new and unknown to the conſtitution, it ought not to be tried rigidly by the letter of the ancient laws: That for his part, all the violences, which had been put upon the parliament, and upon the perſon of the ſovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the houſe for ſome time before and after the execution of the king: That, finding the whole government thrown into diſorder, he was ſtill reſolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: That in proſecution of this principle, he had chearfully undergone all the violence of Cromwel's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expoſe himſelf to the rigors of perverted law and juſtice: That though it was in his power, on the king's reſtoration to have eſcaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity to periſh in defence of liberty, and to give teſtimony with his blood for that honorable cauſe, in which he had been inliſted: And, that, beſides the ties, by which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the moſt

C H A P.

LXIII.

1662.

C H A P. sacred covenant, whose obligation no earthly
 LXIII. power should ever be able to make him relinquish.

1662.

11th June.

ALL the defence, which Vane could make, was fruitless. The court, considering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and prosecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treason charged against him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the persuasion of a just cause supported him against the terrors of death; while his enthusiasm, excited by the prospect of glory, embellished the conclusion of a life, which through the whole course of it, had been so much disfigured by the prevalence of that principle. Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admonished him to temper the ardor of his zeal. He was not astonished at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he considered death but as a passage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

and execu-
 tion.

14th June.

THIS man, so celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him: They treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are absolutely unintelligible: No traces of eloquence, or even

of common sense appear in them. A strange paradox! did we not know, that men of the greatest genius, where they relinquish by principle the use of their reason, are only enabled, by their vigor of mind, to work themselves the deeper into error and absurdity. It was remarkable, that, as Vane, by being the chief instrument of Strafford's death, had first opened the way for that destruction, which overwhelmed the nation; so by his death he closed the scene of blood. He was the last that suffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert survived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the isle of Guernsey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his past schemes of greatness, and entirely forgotten by the nation: He died a Roman catholic.

HOWEVER odious Vane and Lambert were to the presbyterians, that party had no leisure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription; in hopes, that the bishops would not venture at once to expel so great a number of the most

C H A P.

LXIII.

1662.

Presbyterian
clergy
ejected.
24th Aug.

C H A P. popular preachers. The catholic party at court,
 LXIII. who desired a great rent among the protestants,
 1662. encouraged them in this obstinacy, and gave them hopes, that the king would protect them in their refusal. The king himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures; and to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Fortified by society in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than openly renounce those principles, which, on other occasions, they were so apt, from interest, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleasure of retaliation; and even pushed, as usual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergyman; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the house of peers, was now refused to the presbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many, that some relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept the presbyterians united to the church, and have cured those ecclesiastical factions, which had been so fatal, and were still so dangerous. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy,

Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deanries and other preferments were refused by many.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1662.

THE next measure of the king has not had the good fortune to be justified by any party; but is often considered, on what grounds I shall not determine, as one of the greatest mistakes, if not blemishes, of his reign. It is the sale of Dunkirk to the French. The parsimonious maxims of the parliament, and the liberal, or rather careless disposition of Charles, were ill suited to each other; and notwithstanding the supplies voted him, his treasury was still very empty and very much indebted. He had secretly received the sum of 200,000 crowns from France for the support of Portugal; but the forces sent over to that country, and the fleets, maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king that sum, and together with it, near double the money, which had been paid as the queen's portion⁹. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortress from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burthen to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thou-

Dunkirk
sold to the
French.

⁹ D'Estrades, 17th of August, 1662. There was above half of 500,000 pounds really paid as the queen's portion.

C H A P. sand pounds a year. These considerations had
 LXIII. such influence, not only on the king, but even
 1662. on Clarendon, that this uncorrupt minister was
 the most forward to advise accepting a sum of
 money in lieu of a place which, he thought,
 the king, from the narrow state of his revenue,
 was no longer able to retain. By the treaty
 with Portugal, it was stipulated, that Dunkirk
 should never be yielded to the Spaniards: France
 was therefore the only purchaser that remained.
 D'Estrades was invited over by a letter from the
 chancellor himself, in order to conclude the
 bargain. Nine hundred thousand pounds were
 demanded: One hundred thousand were offered.
 The English by degrees lowered their demand;
 The French raised their offer: And the bargain
 was concluded at 400,000 pounds. The artillery
 and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum¹⁰.
 The importance of this sale was not, at that
 time, sufficiently known, either abroad or at
 home¹¹. The French monarch himself, so fond

¹⁰ D'Estrades, 21st of August, 12th of September, 1662.

¹¹ It appears, however, from many of D'Estrades's letters, particularly that of the 21st of August, 1661, that the king might have transferred Dunkirk to the parliament, who would not have refused to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the king for that purpose. The king on the other hand was jealous, lest the parliament should acquire any separate dominion or authority in a branch of administration, which seemed so little to belong to them: A proof that the government was not yet settled into that composure, and mutual confidence, which is absolutely requisite for conducting it.

of acquisitions, and so good a judge of his own interests, thought, that he had made a hard bargain¹²; and this sum, in appearance so small, was the utmost, which he would allow his ambassador to offer.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1662.

A NEW incident discovered such a glimpse of the king's character and principles as, at first, the nation was somewhat at a loss how to interpret, but such as subsequent events, by degrees, rendered sufficiently plain and manifest. He issued a declaration on pretence of mitigating the rigors, contained in the act of uniformity. After expressing his firm resolution to observe the general indemnity, and to trust entirely to the affections of his subjects, not to any military power, for the support of his throne; he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he subjoined, that, "as in the first place he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, in discipline, ceremony and government, and shall ever constantly maintain it: So as for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform themselves

Declaration
of indul-
gence.
26th Dec.

¹² D'Estrades, 3d of October 1662. The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the English was, that it was able to distress their trade, when in the hands of the French: But it was Lewis the XIVth who first made it a good seaport. If ever England have occasion to transport armies to the continent, it must be in support of some ally whose towns serve to the same purpose as Dunkirk would, if in the hands of the English.

C H A P. " thereunto, through scruple and tendernefs of
 LXIII. " misguided confcience, but modestly and with-
 1662. " out scandal perform their devotions in their
 " own way, he fhould make it his fpecial care,
 " fo far as in him lay, without invading the
 " freedom of parliament, to incline their wifdom
 " next approaching feffions to concur with him
 " in making fome fuch act for that purpofe, as
 " may enable him to exercife, with a more
 " univerfal fatisfaction, that power of difpenfing,
 " which he conceived to be inherent in him".

Here a moft important prerogative was exercifed by the king; but under fuch artful referves and limitations as might prevent the full difcuffion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his parliament. The foundation of this meafure lay much deeper, and was of the utmoft confequence.

THE king, during his exile, had imbibed ftrong prejudices in favor of the catholic religion; and according to the moft probable accounts, had already been fecretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expreffed by the parliamentary party againft all papifts, had always, from a fpirit of oppofition, inclined the court and all the royalifts to adopt more favorable fentiments towards that feft, which, through the whole courfe of the civil wars, had ftrenuoufly fupported the rights of the fovereign. The rigor too, which the king, during his abode

²³ Kennet's Register, p. 850.

in Scotland, had experienced from the presbyterians, disposed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindness to the party, most opposite in its genius to the severity of those religionists. The solicitations and importunities of the queen-mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more splendid and courtly mode of worship, the hopes of indulgence in pleasure; all these causes operated powerfully on a young prince, whose careless and dissolute temper made him incapable of adhering closely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtless humor of Charles rendered him an easy convert to popery, the same disposition ever prevented the theological tenets of that sect from taking any fast hold of him. During his vigorous state of health, while his blood was warm and his spirits high; a contempt and disregard to all religion held possession of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a deist than a catholic. But in those revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent understanding was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of more sincere conviction; and a sect, which always possessed his inclination, was then master of his judgment and opinion¹⁴.

C H A P.
LXIII.
1662.

¹⁴ The author confesses, that the king's zeal for popery was apt, at intervals, to go farther than is here supposed, as appears from many passages in James the Second's Memoirs.

O H A P.

LXIII.

BUT though the king thus fluctuated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and popery, to which he retained a secret propensity, his brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow understanding made him a thorough convert, without any reserve from interest, or doubts from reasoning and inquiry. By his application to business, he had acquired a great ascendant over the king, who, though possessed of more discernment, was glad to throw the burthen of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealousy. On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private houses. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and it was hoped, that, under shelter of their name, the small and hated sect of the catholics might meet with favor and protection.

1663.

18th Feb.

BUT while the king pleaded his early promises of toleration, and insisted on many other plausible topics, the parliament, who sat a little after the declaration was issued, could by no means be satisfied with this measure. The declared intention of easing the dissenters, and the secret purpose of favoring the catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and in these prepossessions they were encouraged by the king's ministers

themselves, particularly the chancellor. The house of commons represented to the king, that his declaration of Breda contained no promise to the presbyterians and other dissenters, but only an expression of his intentions, upon supposition of the concurrence of parliament : That even if the non-conformists had been entitled to plead a promise, they had intrusted this claim, as all their other rights and privileges, to the house of commons, who were their representatives, and who now freed the king from that obligation : That it was not to be supposed, that his majesty and the houses were so bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws, which might be contrary to it : That even at the king's restoration, there were laws of uniformity in force, which could not be dispensed with but by act of parliament : And that the indulgence intended would prove most pernicious both to church and state, would open the door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature. The king did not think proper, after this remonstrance, to insist any farther at present on the project of indulgence.

IN order to deprive the catholics of all hopes, the two houses concurred in a remonstrance against them. The king gave a gracious answer; though he scrupled not to profess his gratitude towards many of that persuasion, on account of their faithful services in his father's cause and in his own. A proclamation, for form's sake,

C H A P. was soon after issued against Jesuits and Romish
 LXIII. priests : But care was taken, by the very terms
 1663. of it, to render it ineffectual. The parliament had
 allowed, that all foreign priests, belonging to
 the two queens, should be excepted, and that a
 permission for them to remain in England should
 still be granted. In the proclamation, the word,
foreign, was purposely omitted ; and the queens
 were thereby authorized to give protection to as
 many English priests as they should think proper.

THAT the king might reap some advantage
 from his compliances, however fallacious, he
 engaged the commons a-new into an examination
 of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence
 in levying it, had proved, he said, much in-
 ferior to the public charges. Notwithstanding the
 price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained,
 amounted to a considerable sum ; and to satisfy
 the commons, that the money formerly granted
 him, had not been prodigally expended, he
 offered to lay before them the whole account of
 his disbursements. It is however agreed on all
 hands, that the king, though, during his banish-
 ment, he had managed his small and precarious
 income with great order and œconomy, had now
 much abated of these virtues, and was unable to
 make his royal revenues suffice for his expenses.
 The commons, without entering into too nice a
 disquisition, voted him four subsidies ; and this
 was the last time, that taxes were levied in that
 manner.

SEVERAL laws were made this session with

regard to trade. The militia also came under consideration, and some rules were established for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the king should have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The situation of this island, together with its great naval power, has always occasioned other means of security, however requisite, to be much neglected amongst us: And the parliament showed here a very superfluous jealousy of the king's strictness in disciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealousy.

THE earl of Bristol's friendship with Clarendon, which had subsisted, with great intimacy, during their exile and the distresses of the royal party, had been considerably impaired since the restoration, by the chancellor's refusing his assent to some grants, which Bristol had applied for to a court-lady: And a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeably to the impetuosity and indiscretion of his temper, broke out against the minister in the most outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treason against him before the house of peers; but had concerted his measures so imprudently, that the judges, when consulted, declared, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could the charge be legally received. The articles indeed resemble more the incoherent altercations of a passionate enemy, than a serious accusation, fit to be discussed by a court of judicature; and Bristol himself was so ashamed of his conduct and defeat, that he absconded

E H A P. during some time. Notwithstanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his spirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character, which he lost by this hasty and precipitate measure.

LXIII.
1663.

**Decline of
Clarendon's
credit.**

BUT though Clarendon was able to elude this rash assault, his credit at court was sensibly declining; and in proportion as the king found himself established on the throne, he began to alienate himself from a minister, whose character was so little suited to his own. Charles's favor for the catholics was always opposed by Clarendon, public liberty was secured against all attempts of the over-zealous royalists, prodigal grants of the king were checked or refused, and the dignity of his own character was so much consulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did also his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal mistresses. The king's favorite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created dutchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his master; and her success was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was soon after created lord Arlington.

THOUGH the king's conduct had hitherto, since his restoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to observe, that those

virtues, by which he had, at first, so much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great show, but no equal solidity. His good understanding lost much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the result of a facility of disposition than any generosity of character; his social humor led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleasure was not attended with proper sentiment, and decency; and while he seemed to bear a good will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of friendship, and he had secretly entertained a very bad opinion and distrust of mankind. But above all, what sullied his character in the eyes of good judges, was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whose zeal and sufferings in the royal cause had known no bounds. This conduct, however, in the king may, from the circumstances of his situation and temper, admit of some excuse; at least, of some alleviation. As he had been restored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his ancient friends, the former pretended a title to share his favor; and being, from practice, acquainted with public business, they were better qualified to execute any trust committed to them. The king's revenues were far from being large, or even equal to his necessary expenses; and his mistresses, and the companions of his mirth and pleasures, gained by solicitation every request from his easy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous royalists had reduced

C H A R.
LXIII.
1663.

C H A P. themselves, by rendering them insignificant, made
LXIII. them unfit to support the king's measures, and
1663. caused him to deem them a useless incumbrance. And as many false and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averse to a strict discussion or inquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The parliament took notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thousand pounds were at one time distributed among them: Mrs. Lane also and the Penderels had handsome presents and pensions from the king. But the greater part of the royalists still remained in poverty and distress; aggravated by the cruel disappointment in their sanguine hopes, and by seeing favor and preferment bestowed upon their most inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they universally said, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

C H A P. LXIV.

A new session — Rupture with Holland — A new session — Victory of the English — Rupture with France — Rupture with Denmark — New session — Sea-fight of four days — Victory of the English — Fire of London — Advances towards peace — Disgrace at Chatham — Peace of Breda — Clarendon's fall — and banishment — State of France — Character of Lewis XIV. — French invasion of the Low Countries — Negotiations — Triple league — Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle — Affairs of Scotland — and of Ireland.

THE next session of parliament discovered a continuance of the same principles, which had prevailed in all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were still the objects of regard and affection. During no period of the present reign, did this spirit more evidently pass the bounds of reason and moderation.

THE king in his speech to the parliament had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial act; and he even went so far as to declare, that, notwithstanding the law, he never would allow any parliament to be assembled by the methods prescribed in that statute. The parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and in lieu of all the securities,

C H A P.
LXIV.
1664.
16th March.
A new
session.

C H A P. formerly provided, satisfied themselves with a
 LXIV. general clause, "that parliaments should not be
 1664. "interrupted above three years at the most."
 As the English parliament had now raised itself to be a regular check and controul upon royal power; it is evident, that they ought still to have preserved a regular security for their meeting, and not have trusted entirely to the good-will of the king, who, if ambitious or enterprising, had so little reason to be pleased with these assemblies. Before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occasion to feel very sensibly the effects of this repeal.

By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who should officiate without being properly qualified, was punishable by fine and imprisonment: But this security was not thought sufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that, wherever five persons above those of the same household, should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay five-pounds; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay a hundred pounds. The parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the sectaries: They should have carried their attention farther, to the chief cause of that malignity, the restraint under which they labored.

THE commons likewise passed a vote, that the wrongs, dishonors, and indignities, offered to the

English by the subjects of the United Provinces, were the greatest obstructions to all foreign trade: And they promised to assist the king with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition whatsoever. This was the first open step towards a Dutch war. We must explain the causes and motives of this measure.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1664.

THAT close union and confederacy, which, during a course of near seventy-years, has subsisted, almost without interruption or jealousy, between England and Holland, is not so much founded on the natural unalterable interests of these states, as on their terror of the growing power of the French monarch, who, without their combination, it is apprehended, would soon extend his dominion over Europe. In the first years of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of Lewis had not, as yet, displayed itself; and when the great force of his people was, in some measure, unknown even to themselves, the rivalry of commerce, not checked by any other jealousy or apprehension, had in England begotten a violent enmity against the neighbouring republic.

Rupture
with Hol-
land.

TRADE was beginning, among the English, to be a matter of general concern; but notwithstanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce seemed hitherto to stand upon a footing, which was somewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by industry and frugality, were enabled to undersell them in every market,

CHAP. LXIV.
 1664. retained possession of the most lucrative branches of commerce; and the English merchants had the mortification to find, that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loss and dishonor. Their indignation increased, when they considered the superior naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and seamen; her favorable situation, which enabled her to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the prospect of these advantages, they were strongly prompted, from motives less just than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to ravish from them by force, what they could not obtain, or could obtain but slowly, by superior skill and industry.

THE careless, unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming so vast a project as that of engrossing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether insensible to such obvious and such tempting prospects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, had inclined him to study naval affairs, which, of all branches of business, he both loved the most, and understood the best. Though the Dutch, during his exile, had expressed towards him more civility and friendship, than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louvestein or aristocratic faction, which, at this time, ruled the commonwealth, had fallen into close union with France; and could that party be subdued, he might hope,

that his nephew, the young prince of Orange, would be re-instated in the authority, possessed by his ancestors, and would bring the States to a dependence under England. His narrow revenues made it still requisite for him to study the humors of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it has been suspected, though the suspicion was not justified by the event, that the hopes of diverting some of the supplies to his private use were not overlooked by this necessitous monarch.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1664.

THE duke of York, more active and enterprising, pushed more eagerly the war with Holland. He desired an opportunity of distinguishing himself: He loved to cultivate commerce: He was at the head of a new African company, whose trade was extremely checked by the settlements of the Dutch: And perhaps, the religious prejudices, by which that prince was always so much governed, began, even so early, to instil into him an antipathy against a protestant commonwealth, the bulwark of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, observing that the nation was not supported by any foreign alliance, were averse to hostilities; but their credit was now on the decline.

By these concurring motives, the court and parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The parliament was prorogued without voting supplies: But as they had been induced, without any open application from the crown, to pass that vote above-mentioned against the

17th May.

C H A P. Dutch encroachments, it was reasonably con-
 LXIV. sidered as a sufficient sanction for the vigorous
 1664. measures, which were resolved on.

DOWNING, the English minister at the Hague, a man of an insolent, impetuous temper, presented a memorial to the States, containing a list of those depredations, of which the English complained. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and these complaints were then thought either so ill grounded or so frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in the treaty. Two ships alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the English; and it was agreed, that the claim should be prosecuted by the ordinary course of justice. The States had consigned a sum of money, in case the cause should be decided against them; but the matter was still in dependence. Cary, who was intrusted by the proprietors with the management of the law-suit for the Bonaventure, had resolved to accept of thirty thousand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of state between the two nations, not a concern of private persons¹. These circumstances give us no favorable idea of the justice of the English pretensions.

CHARLES confined not himself to memorials

¹ Temple, vol. ii. p. 42.

and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from cape Corfe, to which the English had some pretensions: He likewise seized the Dutch settlements of cape Verde and the isle of Goree, together with several ships trading on that coast. And having sailed to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a territory, which James the first had given by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of these hostile measures, the king, unwilling to avow what he could not well justify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewise confined that admiral to the Tower; but some time after released him.

THE Dutch, finding that their applications for redress were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with some precipitation, an act of vigor, which hastened on the rupture. Sir John Lawson and de Ruyter had been sent with combined squadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chastise the piratical states on the coast of Barbary; and the time of their separation and return was now approaching. The States secretly dispatched orders to de Ruyter, that he should take in provisions at Cadiz; and sailing towards the coast of Guinea, should retaliate on the

C H A P.

LXIV.

1664.

CHAP. English, and put the Dutch in possession of those
 LXIV. settlements whence Holmes had expelled them.
 1664. De Ruyter, having a considerable force on board,
 met with no opposition in Guinea. All the new
 acquisitions of the English, except cape Corfe,
 were recovered from them. They were even
 dispossessed of some old settlements. Such of their
 ships as fell into his hands were seized by de
 Ruyter. That admiral sailed next to America.
 He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He
 afterwards committed hostilities on Long Island.

MEANWHILE, the English preparations for
 war were advancing with vigor and industry.
 The king had received no supplies from parlia-
 ment; but by his own funds and credit he was
 enabled to equip a fleet: The city of London
 lent him 100,000 pounds: The spirit of the nation
 seconded his armaments: He himself went from
 port to port, inspecting with great diligence,
 and encouraging the work: And in a little time
 the English navy was put in a formidable condi-
 tion. Eight hundred thousand pounds are said to
 have been expended on this armament. When
 Lawson arrived, and communicated his suspicion
 of de Ruyter's enterprise, orders were issued for
 seizing all Dutch ships; and 135 fell into the
 hands of the English. These were not declared
 prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed.

24th Nov.
 A new ses-
 sion.

THE parliament, when it met, granted a supply,
 the largest by far that had ever been given to a
 king of England, yet scarcely sufficient for the
 present undertaking. Near two millions and a

half were voted, to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great prospect of success, had animated the whole nation against the Dutch.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1664.

A GREAT alteration was made this session in the method of taxing the clergy. In almost all the other monarchies of Europe, the assemblies, whose consent was formerly requisite to the enacting of laws, were composed of three estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, which formed so many members of the political body, of which the king was considered as the head. In England too, the parliament was always represented as consisting of three estates; but their separation was never so distinct as in other kingdoms. A convocation, however, had usually sitten at the same time with the parliament; though they possessed not a negative voice in the passing of laws, and assumed no other temporal power than that of imposing taxes on the clergy. By reason of ecclesiastical preferments, which he could bestow, the king's influence over the church was more considerable than over the laity; so that the subsidies, granted by the convocation, were commonly greater than those which were voted by parliament. The church, therefore, was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the commons to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom. In recompence, two subsidies, which the convocation had formerly granted; were remitted, and the parochial clergy were

C H A P. allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of
LXIV. England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become insignificant to the crown, have been much disused of late years.

THE Dutch saw, with the utmost regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences, but which afforded no prospect of advantage. They tried every art of negociation, before they would come to extremities. Their measures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public counsels that magnanimity, which suits the minister of a great state. It was ever his maxim, that no independent government should yield to another any evident point of reason or equity; and that all such concessions, so far from preventing war, served to no other purpose than to provoke fresh claims and insults. By his management a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces, great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

1665.
 22d Feb.

2d June.
 Victory of
 the English.

As soon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprises, Charles declared war against the States. His fleet, consisting of 114 sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the earls of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Obdam, who was admiral

of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral, killed during the former war, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1665.

It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bed-chamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity². It is allowed, however, that the

² King James in his Memoirs gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that, while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to Sir John Harman, captain of the ship, to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sail as before: So that the prince coming soon after on the quarter deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. No body gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it, by a kind of accident; and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the house of com-

C H A P. duke behaved with great bravery during the
 LXIV. action. He was long in the thickest of the fire.
 1665. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly disposition, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits to flag, and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose face he had not been afraid to encounter.

THIS disaster threw the Dutch into consternation, and determined de Wit, who was the soul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he soon remedied all those disorders, which had been occasioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even made improvements in some parts of pilotage and sailing, beyond what men expert in those arts had ever been able to attain.

Rupture
 with France.

THE misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their assistance and support. The commons took up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the duke to punish him otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Broucker, before the house, never pretended, that he had received any orders from the duke.

king of France was engaged in a defensive alliance with the States ; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy , he was extremely averse , at that time , from entering into a war with so formidable a power as England. He long tried to mediate a peace between the states , and for that purpose sent an embassy to London , which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis , the English ambassador at Paris , endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the side of England ; and , in his master's name , made him the most tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spanish Low Countries to the French , without pretending to a foot of ground for himself ; provided Lewis would allow him to pursue his advantages against the Dutch ³. But the French monarch , though the conquest of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition , rejected the offer as contrary to his interests : He thought , that if the English had once established an uncontrollable dominion over the sea and over commerce , they would soon be able to render his acquisitions a dear purchase to him. When de Lionne , the French secretary , assured Van Beuninghen , ambassador of the States , that this offer had been pressed on his master during six months , “ I can readily believe it , ” replied the Dutchman ; “ I am sensible that it is the interest of England ⁴. ”

³ D'Estrades , 19th of December , 1664.

⁴ D'Estrades , 14th August , 1665.

C H A P. LXIV. 1665. SUCH were the established maxims at that time with regard to the interests of princes. It must however be allowed, that the politics of Charles, in making this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakness of Spain would have rendered the French conquests easy and infallible; but the vigor of the Dutch, it might be foreseen, would make the success of the English much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquisition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain consequence; nor is trade a constant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and some of them very delicate, circumstances.

THOUGH the king of France was resolved to support the Hollanders in that unequal contest, in which they were engaged; he yet protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark meanwhile was resolved not to remain an idle spectator of the contest between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the most extraordinary: He made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch to take shelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded

the English navy (the duke having gone ashore) dispatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but whether from the king of Denmark's delay in sending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engross the whole booty, the English admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpose. The Danish governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a gallant resistance.

C H A P.

LXIV.

1665.

3d August.

THE king of Denmark, seemingly ashamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the states; and at the very same time, his resident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England. To this latter alliance he adhered, probably from jealousy of the increasing naval power of England; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. This was a sensible check to the advantages, which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a blow was given to the English commerce; the king of Denmark's naval force was also considerable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince stipulated to assist his ally with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

Rupture
with Den-
mark.

THE king endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies.

C H A P. He had dispatched Sir Richard Fanshawe into
 LXIV. Spain, who met with a very cold reception.
 1665. That monarchy was sunk into a state of weakness,
 and was menaced with an invasion from France;
 yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to
 enter into cordial friendship with England.
 Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of
 Jamaica and Tangiers, the sale of Dunkirk to the
 French; all these offences sunk so deep in the
 mind of the Spanish monarch, that no motive of
 interest was sufficient to outweigh them.

THE bishop of Munster was the only ally that
 Charles could acquire. This prelate, a man of
 restless enterprise and ambition, had entertained
 a violent animosity against the states; and he
 was easily engaged, by the promise of subsidies
 from England, to make an incursion on that
 republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000
 men, he invaded her territories, and met with
 weak resistance. The land forces of the States
 were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets
 were gallant and formidable. But after his com-
 mitting great ravages in several of the provinces,
 a stop was put to the progress of this warlike
 prelate. He had not military skill sufficient to
 improve the advantages which fortune had put
 into his hands: The king of France sent a body
 of 6000 men to oppose him: Subsidies were not
 regularly remitted him from England; and many
 of his troops deserted for want of pay: The
 elector of Brandenburg threatened him with an
 invasion in his own state: And on the whole,

he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the first surmise of his intentions, Sir William Temple was sent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but found, that he arrived too late.

THE Dutch, encouraged by all these favorable circumstances, continued resolute to exert themselves to the utmost in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: Their Indian fleet was come home in safety: Their harbours were crowded with merchant-ships: Faction at home was appeased: The young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the States of Holland, and of de Wit, their pensionary, who executed his trust with honor and fidelity: And the animosity, which the Hollanders entertained against the attack of the English, so unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirst for revenge, and hope for better success in their next enterprise. Such vigor was exerted in the common cause, that, in order to man the fleet, all merchant-ships were prohibited to sail, and even the fisheries were suspended.

THE English likewise continued in the same disposition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itself to that of war. The plague had broken out in London; and that with such violence as to cut off, in a year, near 90,000 inhabitants. The king was obliged to summon the parliament at Oxford.

^s Tromp's life. D'Estrades, 5th of February 1665.

C H A P.

LXIV.

1665.

New session.

Five-mile-
act.

A GOOD agreement still subsisted between the king and parliament. They, on their part, unanimously voted him the supply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. And he, to gratify them, passed the five-mile-act, which has given occasion to grievous and not unjust complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy against its inveterate enemies, persevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity against the non-conformists. It was enacted, that no dissenting teacher, who took not the non-resistance-oath above mentioned, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and six months imprisonment. By ejecting the non-conforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual profession. And now under color of removing them from places, where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence. Had not the spirit of the nation undergone a change, these violences were preludes to the most furious persecution.

HOWEVER prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not pass without opposition. Besides several peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himself, though Clarendon's great

friend, expressed his disapprobation of these measures. But the church-party, not discouraged with this opposition, introduced into the house of commons a bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. The parliament, after a short session, was prorogued.

C H A P.
LXIV.

31st Octob.

1666.

AFTER France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force. Yet she possessed this advantage by her situation, that she lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by speedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or such the want of intelligence in her ministers, that this circumstance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon; and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail*, was now commonly supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the protector, had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George

* D'Estrades, 21st of May 1666.

C H A P. LXIV. 1666. Aiscue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, protested against the temerity of this resolution: But Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who, seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that ensued, is one of the most memorable, that we read of in story; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage, with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some atonement by his valor for the rashness of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the summit of honors. We shall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be sufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

Sea-fight of
four days.

1st June.

IN the first day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, was overpowered, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew so hard, that they could not use their lower tire, they derived but small advantage from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on their sails and rigging; and few ships were sunk or much damaged. Chain-shot was at that time a new invention; commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted

himself extremely on this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darknefs parted the combatants.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1666.

THE second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat became more steady and more terrible. The English now found, that the greatest valor cannot compensate the superiority of numbers, against an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory and enemies from faction, exerted themselves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of disengaging and saving his antagonist, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the most imminent danger. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action: And the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and were on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

NEXT morning, the English were obliged to continue their retreat; and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were ordered to stretch a-head; and sixteen of the most entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Ossory, son of Ormond, a gallant youth, who

CHAP. fought honor and experience in every action
 LXIV. throughout Europe, was then on board the ad-
 1666. miral. Albemarle confessed to him his intention
 rather to blow up his ship and perish gloriously,
 than yield to the enemy. Ossory applauded this
 desperate resolution.

ABOUT two o'clock, the Dutch had come up
 with their enemy, and were ready to renew the
 fight; when a new fleet was descried from the
 south, crowding all their sail to reach the scene
 of action. The Dutch flattered themselves that
 Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the
 vanquished: The English hoped, that prince
 Rupert had come, to turn the scale of action.
 Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the
 prince's approach, bent his course towards him.
 Unhappily, Sir George Aiscue, in a ship of a
 hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, struck on
 the Galloper sands, and could receive no assistance
 from his friends, who were hastening to join the
 reinforcement. He could not even reap the con-
 solation of perishing with honor, and revenging
 his death on his enemies. They were preparing
 fireships to attack him, and he was obliged to
 strike. The English sailors, seeing the necessity,
 with the utmost indignation surrendered them-
 selves prisoners.

ALBEMARLE and prince Rupert were now de-
 termined to face the enemy; and next morning
 the battle began afresh, with more equal force
 than ever, and with equal valor. After long
 cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat;
 which

which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1666.

THOUGH the English, by their obstinate courage, reaped the chief honor in this engagement, it is somewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ships; and having some appearances of advantage, expressed their satisfaction by all the signs of triumph and rejoicing. But as the English fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to sea more formidable than ever, together with many of those ships, which the Dutch had boasted to have burned or destroyed; all Europe saw, that those two brave nations were engaged in a contest, which was not likely, on either side, to prove decisive.

It was the conjunction alone of the French, that could give a decisive superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valor and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from

25th July.
Victory of
the English.

C H A P. de Ruyter and the main body, whether by
 LXIV. accident or design was never certainly known.
 1666. De Ruyter, with conduct and valor, maintained
 the combat against the main body of the English;
 and though overpowered by numbers, kept his
 station, till night ended the engagement. Next
 day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and dis-
 couraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat,
 which yet he conducted with such skill, as to
 render it equally honorable to himself as the
 greatest victory. Full of indignation however
 at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he fre-
 quently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch
 "am I? among so many thousand bullets, is
 "there not one to put an end to my miserable
 "life?" One de Witte, his son-in-law, who
 stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death,
 to turn upon the English, and render his life a
 dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter
 esteemed it more worthy a brave man to per-
 severe to the uttermost, and, as long as possible,
 to render service to his country. All that night
 and next day, the English pressed upon the rear
 of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled
 efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter saved them-
 selves in their harbours.

THE loss, sustained by the Hollanders in this
 action, was not very considerable; but as violent
 animosities had broken out between the two ad-
 mirals, who engaged all the officers on one side
 or other, the consternation, which took place,
 was great among the provinces. Tromp's com-

mission was at last taken from him; but though several captains had misbehaved, they were so effectually protected by their friends in the magistracy of the towns, that most of them escaped punishment, many were still continued in their commands.

CHAP.
LXIV.
1666.

THE English now rode incontestible masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was sent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coast. The Dutch merchants, who lost by this enterprise, uniting themselves to the Orange faction, exclaimed against an administration, which, they pretended, had brought such disgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit could have supported itself under such a complication of calamities.

THE king of France, apprehensive that the Dutch would sink under their misfortunes; at least, that de Wit, his friend, might be dispossessed of the administration, hastened the advance of the duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likewise was again equipped; and under the command of de Ruyter, cruised near the straits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the English navy, now stronger than ever, came full sail upon them. The Dutch admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. John's road near Boulogne. Here he sheltered himself,

C H A P. LXIV. 1666. both from the English, and from a furious storm, which arose. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helens; where he stayed some time, in order to repair the damages, which he had sustained. Meanwhile the duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and passed the English fleet unperceived; but he did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been seized with a fever: Many of the chief officers had fallen into sickness: A contagious distemper was spread through the fleet: And the States thought it necessary to recal them into their harbours, before the enemy should be refitted. The French king, anxious for his navy, which, with so much care and industry, he had lately built, dispatched orders to Beaufort, to make the best of his way to Brest. That admiral had again the good fortune to pass the English. One ship alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

3d Sept.
Fire of
London.

WHILE the war continued without any decisive success on either side, a calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great consternation. Fire, breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be spectators of their own ruin; and were pursued from street to street by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. There days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only

by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. The king and duke used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames; but all their industry was unsuccessful. About four hundred streets, and thirteen thousand houses were reduced to ashes.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1666.

THE causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew; these were so many concurring circumstances, which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, some ascribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics; though it is not easy to conceive how the burning of London could serve the purposes of either party. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumor, which threw the guilt on them, was more favorably received by the people. No proof however, or even presumption, after the strictest inquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription, engraved by authority on the monument, ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. This clause was erased by order of king James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people, in believing every thing, which flatters their prevailing passion!

C H A P. THE fire of London, though at that time a
LXIV. great calamity, has proved in the issue beneficial
 1666. both to the city and the kingdom. The city
 was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was
 taken to make the streets wider and more regular
 than before. A discretionary power was
 assumed by the king to regulate the distribution
 of the buildings, and to forbid the use of lath
 and timber, the materials, of which the houses
 were formerly composed. The necessity was so
 urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that
 no exceptions were taken at an exercise of authority,
 which otherwise might have been deemed illegal.
 Had the king been enabled to carry his power
 still farther, and made the houses be rebuilt
 with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one
 plan; he had much contributed to the convenience,
 as well as embellishment of the city. Great
 advantages, however, have resulted from the
 alterations; though not carried to the full
 length. London became much more healthy
 after the fire. The plague, which used to break
 out with great fury twice or thrice every century,
 and indeed was always lurking in some corner
 or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared
 since that calamity.

THE parliament met soon after, and gave the
 sanction of law to those regulations made by
 royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners
 for deciding all such questions of property,
 as might arise from the fire. They likewise voted
 a supply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly

by a poll-bill, partly by assessments. Though their inquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the papists the burning of London, the general aversion against that sect still prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous increase. Charles, at the desire of the commons, issued a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and jesuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, destroyed all confidence in his sincerity, whenever he pretended an aversion towards the catholic religion. Whether suspicions of this nature had diminished the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears, that the supply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public necessities seemed to require. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only steadiness to render him extremely dangerous, had somewhat embarrassed the measures of the court: And this was the first time that the king found any considerable reason to complain of a failure of confidence in this house of commons. The rising symptoms of ill humor tended, no doubt, to quicken the steps, which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1666.

CHARLES began to be sensible, that all the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely abortive. The Dutch, even when single, had defended themselves with vigor, and were every day improving in their military skill and preparations. Though

Advances
towards
peace.

C H A P. LXIV. 1667. their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive credit enabled them to levy great sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved so fruitless and destructive.

THE first advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the king sent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he insinuated to the States his desire of peace on reasonable terms; and their answer corresponded in the same amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority, still insisted, that the States should treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment so far as concerned themselves: But being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. On a sudden, the king went so far on the other side as to offer the sending of ambassadors to the Hague; but this proposal, which seemed honorable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and distract them, by affording the English an opportunity to carry on

cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they stood before the war; or that both parties should continue in possession of their present acquisitions. Charles accepted of the latter proposal; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the isle of Pulerone. This island lies in the East Indies, and was formerly valuable for its produce of spices. The English had been masters of it; but were dispossessed at the time when the violences were committed against them at Amboyna. Cromwel had stipulated to have it restored; and the Hollanders, having first entirely destroyed all the spice-trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the English had been anew expelled during the course of the war. Charles renewed his pretensions to this island; and as the reasons on both sides began to multiply, and seemed to require a long discussion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

C H A P.

LXIV.

1667.

LORD HOLLIS and Henry Coventry were the English ambassadors. They immediately desired, that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims could be adjusted: But this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected by

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 urgent, and the occasion so extraordinary, that
 no exceptions were taken at an exercise of authority,
 which otherwise might have been deemed illegal.
 Had the king been enabled to carry his power
 still farther, and made the houses be rebuilt
 with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one
 plan; he had much contributed to the convenience,
 as well as embellishment of the city. Great
 advantages, however, have resulted from the
 alterations; though not carried to the full
 length. London became much more healthy
 after the fire. The plague, which used to break
 out with great fury twice or thrice every century,
 and indeed was always lurking in some corner
 or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared
 since that calamity.

THE parliament met soon after, and gave the
 sanction of law to those regulations made by
 royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners
 for deciding all such questions of property,
 as might arise from the fire. They likewise voted
 a supply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly

by a poll-bill, partly by assessments. Though their inquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the papists the burning of London, the general aversion against that sect still prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous increase. Charles, at the desire of the commons, issued a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and jesuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, destroyed all confidence in his sincerity, whenever he pretended an aversion towards the catholic religion. Whether suspicions of this nature had diminished the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears, that the supply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public necessities seemed to require. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only steadiness to render him extremely dangerous, had somewhat embarrassed the measures of the court: And this was the first time that the king found any considerable reason to complain of a failure of confidence in this house of commons. The rising symptoms of ill humor tended, no doubt, to quicken the steps, which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1666.

CHARLES began to be sensible, that all the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely abortive. The Dutch, even when single, had defended themselves with vigor, and were every day improving in their military skill and preparations. Though

Advances
towards
peace.

C H A P. their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive
LXIV. credit enabled them to levy great sums; and
1667. while the seamen of England loudly complained
 of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly
 supplied with money and every thing requisite
 for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now
 supported them, every place, from the extremity
 of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was be-
 come hostile to the English. And Charles, neither
 fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent
 ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring
 tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war,
 which, being joined with the plague and fire,
 had proved so fruitless and destructive.

THE first advances towards an accommodation
 were made by England. When the king sent for
 the body of Sir William Berkeley, he insinuated
 to the States his desire of peace on reasonable
 terms; and their answer corresponded in the same
 amicable intentions. Charles, however, to main-
 tain the appearance of superiority, still insisted,
 that the States should treat at London; and they
 agreed to make him this compliment so far as
 concerned themselves: But being engaged in al-
 liance with two crowned heads, they could not,
 they said, prevail with these to depart in that
 respect from their dignity. On a sudden, the
 king went so far on the other side as to offer the
 sending of ambassadors to the Hague; but this
 proposal, which seemed honorable to the Dutch,
 was meant only to divide and distract them, by
 affording the English an opportunity to carry on

cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they stood before the war; or that both parties should continue in possession of their present acquisitions. Charles accepted of the latter proposal; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the isle of Polorone. This island lies in the East Indies, and was formerly valuable for its produce of spices. The English had been masters of it; but were dispossessed at the time when the violences were committed against them at Amboyna. Cromwel had stipulated to have it restored; and the Hollanders, having first entirely destroyed all the spice-trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the English had been anew expelled during the course of the war. Charles renewed his pretensions to this island; and as the reasons on both sides began to multiply, and seemed to require a long discussion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1667.

LORD HOLLIS and Henry Coventry were the English ambassadors. They immediately desired, that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims could be adjusted: But this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected by

C H A P. the credit of de Wit. That penetrating and active
 LXIV. minister, thoroughly acquainted with the cha-
 1667. racters of princes and the situation of affairs, had
 discovered an opportunity of striking a blow,
 which might at once restore to the Dutch the
 honor lost during the war, and severely revenge
 those injuries, which he ascribed to the wanton
 ambition and injustice of the English.

WHATEVER projects might have been formed
 by Charles for secreting the money granted him
 by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his inten-
 tion. The expenses of such vast armaments had
 exhausted all the supplies⁷; and even a great
 debt was contracted to the seamen. The king
 therefore was resolved to save, as far as possible,
 the last supply of 1,800,000 pounds; and to em-
 ploy it for payment of his debts, as well those
 which had been occasioned by the war, as those
 which he had formerly contracted. He observed,
 that the Dutch had been with great reluctance
 forced into the war, and that the events of it
 were not such as to inspire them with great de-
 sire of its continuance. The French, he knew,
 had been engaged into hostilities by no other
 motive than that of supporting their ally; and

⁷ The Dutch had spent on the war near 40 millions of
 livres a year, above three millions sterling: A much greater
 sum than had been granted by the English parliament.
 D'Estrades, 24th of December, 1665; 1st of January,
 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want
 of money which engaged the king to pay the seamen with
 tickets; a contrivance which proved so much to their loss.

were now more desirous than ever of putting an end to the quarrel. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of peace appeared infallible; and nothing but forms, at least some vain points of honor, seemed to remain for the ambassadors at Breda to discuss. In this situation, Charles, moved by an ill-timed frugality, remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest affronts, which it has ever received. Two small squadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with such potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almost in the same situation as in times of the most profound tranquillity.

DE WIT protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnore castle: But all these preparations were unequal to the present necessity. Sheerness was soon taken; nor could it be saved by the valor of Sir Edward Sprague, who defended it. Having the advantage of a spring-tide, and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships, which had been there sunk by orders of the duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ships, which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth. After damaging several vessels, and

C H A P.
LXIV.
1667.

10th June.
Disgrace at
Chatham.

CHAP. LXIV. 1667. possessing themselves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had burned, they advanced with six men of war, and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," he said, that "a Douglas had left his post without orders^s." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: Platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery: The trained bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt: They met with no better success at Plymouth: They insulted Harwich: They sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities. His interest required, that a balance should be

^s Temple, vol. ii. p. 41.

kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrouled superiority should be given to either. C H A P.
LXIV.
1667.

GREAT indignation prevailed amongst the English, to see an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honorable advantages, now of a sudden ride undisputed masters of the ocean, burn their ships in their very harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the capital itself. But though the cause of all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor to the ill behaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries, who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that supposition had been treated with such severity⁹.

IN the present distress, two expedients were embraced: An army of 12,000 men was suddenly levied; and the parliament, though it lay under prorogation, was summoned to meet. The houses were very thin; and the only vote,

⁹ Some nonconformists however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correspondence with the States, and had entertained projects for insurrections, but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them. D'Estades, 13th October, 1665.

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 LXIV. gradually lessened in the king that regard, which
 1667. he bore to his minister. When any difficulties
 arose, either for want of power or money, the
 blame was still thrown on him, who, it was
 believed, had carefully at the restoration checked
 all lavish concessions to the king. And what
 perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found
 in Clarendon, it is said, obstacles to his pleasures
 as well as to his ambition.

THE king, disgusted with the homely person
 of his consort, and desirous of having children,
 had hearkened to proposals of obtaining a di-
 vorce, on pretence either of her being pre-
 engaged to another, or of having made a vow
 of chastity before her marriage. He was farther
 stimulated by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, daugh-
 ter of a Scotch gentleman; a lady of great
 beauty, and whose virtue he had hitherto found
 impregnable: But Clarendon, apprehensive
 of the consequences attending a disputed title,
 and perhaps anxious for the succession of his
 own grandchildren, engaged the duke of Rich-
 mond to marry Mrs. Stuart and thereby put
 an end to the king's hopes. It is pretended,
 that Charles never forgave this disappointment.

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 both concurred to make the king sacrifice
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 of his past services was not able any longer to
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 him,

him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of Lord Keeper. Southampton the treasurer was now dead, who had persevered to the utmost in his attachments to the chancellor. The last time he appeared at the council table, he exerted his friendship with a vigor, which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," said he, speaking of Clarendon, "is a true protestant, and an honest Englishman; and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the consequences of his removal."

C H A P.
LXIV.
1667.

BUT the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: His total ruin was resolved on. The duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. Both prince and people united in promoting that violent measure; and no means were thought so proper for ingratiating the court with a parliament, which had so long been governed by that very minister, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

SOME popular acts paved the way for the session; and the parliament, in their first address, gave the king thanks for these instances of his goodness, and among the rest, they took care to mention his dismissal of Clarendon. The king, in reply, assured the houses, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatsoever. Immediately, the charge against him was opened in the house of commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, and consisted of

VOL. XI.

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C H A P.

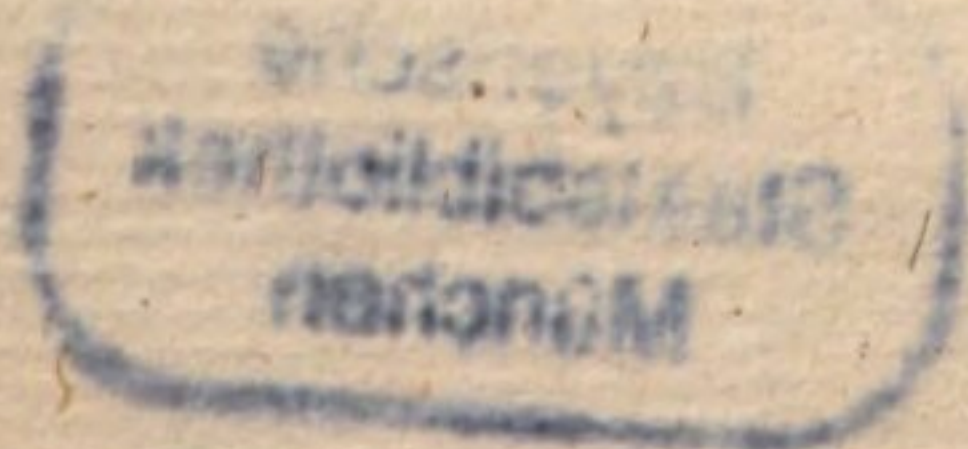
LXIV.

1667.

seventeen articles. The house, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles¹⁰ we know to be either false or frivolous; and such of them, as we are less acquainted with, we may fairly presume to be no better grounded. His advising the sale of Dunkirk, seems the heaviest and truest part of the charge; but a mistake in judgment, allowing it to be such, where there appears no symptom of corruption or bad intentions, it would be very hard to impute as a crime to any minister. The king's necessities, which occasioned that measure, cannot with any appearance of reason be charged on Clarendon; and chiefly proceeded from the over-frugal maxims of the parliament itself, in not granting the proper supplies to the crown.

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C H A P.

LXIV.

1667.

CLARENDON, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuosity against him, and that a defence, offered to such prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw. At Calais, he wrote a paper addressed to the house of lords. He there said, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the king; that during the first years after the restoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counsellors, men of such reputation that no one could entertain suspicions of their wisdom or integrity; that his credit soon declined, and however he might disapprove of some measures, he found it vain to oppose them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the source of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his disapprobation of many unhappy steps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of public offences; his real crime, that which had exasperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent opposition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of suitors had extorted from his majesty.

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C H A P. which the commons passed, was an address for
 LXIV. breaking the army; which was complied with.
 1667. This expression of jealousy showed the court
 what they might expect from that assembly, and
 it was thought more prudent to prorogue them
 till next winter.

10th July.
 Peace of
 Breda.

BUT the signing of the treaty at Breda extricated the king from his present difficulties. The English ambassadors received orders to recede from those demands, which, however frivolous in themselves, could not now be relinquished, without acknowledging a superiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships, Bonaventure and Good-hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted on; Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquisition of New-York a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

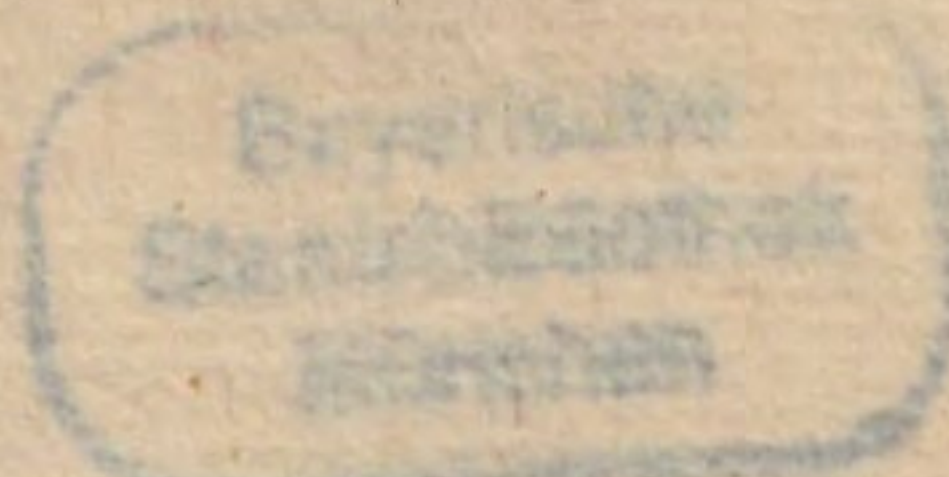
Clarendon's
 fall.

TO appease the people by some sacrifice seemed requisite before the meeting of parliament; and the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. The chancellor was at this time much exposed to the hatred of the public, and of every party, which divided the nation. All the numerous sectaries regarded him as their determined enemy; and ascribed to his advice and influence, those persecuting laws, to which

they had lately been exposed. The catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king and the duke would be entirely useless to them, nor must they ever expect any favor or indulgence. Even the royalists disappointed in their sanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, into whose hands the king seemed at first to have resigned the whole power of government. The sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war, all these misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had ever opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it still his duty to justify what he could not prevent. A building, likewise, of more expense and magnificence than his slender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much exposed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk House.

THE king himself, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. Amidst the dissolute manners of the court, that minister still maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not submit to any condescensions, which he deemed unworthy of his age and character. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent for ridicule, but exposed in his own conduct to all the ridicule, which he threw on others,

C H A P.
LXIV.
1667.



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VOL. XI.

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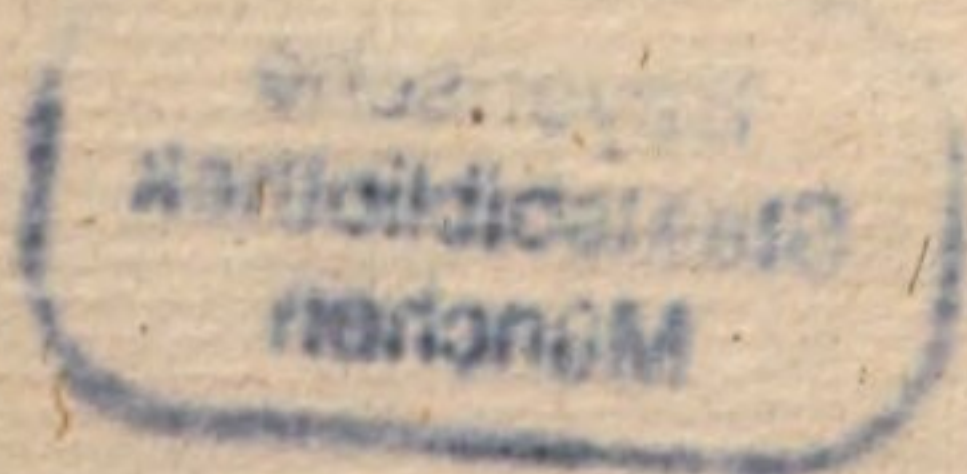
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C H A P. burned by the hands of the hangman. The
LXIV. parliament next proceeded to exert their legis-
1667. lative power against Clarendon, and passed a bill
Clarendon's of banishment and incapacity, which received
banishment. the royal assent. He retired into France, where
 he lived in a private manner. He survived his
 banishment six years; and he employed his leisure
 chiefly in reducing into order the History of the
 Civil Wars, for which he had before collected
 materials. The performance does honor to his
 memory; and except Whitlocke's Memorials, is
 the most candid account of those times, composed
 by any cotemporary author.

CLARENDON was always a friend to the liberty
 and constitution of his country. At the com-
 mencement of the civil wars, he had entered
 into the late king's service, and was honored with
 a great share in the esteem and friendship of that
 monarch: He was pursued with unrelenting ani-
 mosity by the Long Parliament: He had shared
 all the fortunes and directed all the counsels of
 the present king during his exile: He had been
 advanced to the highest trust and offices after the
 restoration: Yet all these circumstances, which
 might naturally operate with such force, either
 on resentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no
 influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is said,
 that when he first engaged in the study of the
 law, his father exhorted him with great earnest-
 ness to shun the practice too common in that pro-
 fession, of straining every point in favor of
 prerogative, and perverting so useful a science

to the oppression of liberty: And in the midst of these rational and virtuous counsels, which he re-iterated, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, and expired in his son's presence. This circumstance gave additional weight to the principles, which he inculcated.

THE combination of king and subject to oppress so good a minister affords, to men of opposite dispositions, an equal occasion of inveighing against the ingratitude of princes, or ignorance of the people. Charles seems never to have mitigated his resentment against Clarendon; and the national prejudices pursued him to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremities, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interposed.

THE next expedient, which the king embraced, in order to acquire popularity, is more deserving of praise, and, had it been steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory respected. It is the Triple Alliance of which I speak; a measure, which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

THE glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous spirit of

C H A P.
LXIV.

1662.

State of
France.

C H A P. the nobility were subdued: The popular pretensions of the parliament restrained: The Hugonot party reduced to subjection: That extensive and fertile country, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants: And while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigor and bravery requisite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire submission under the will of the sovereign.

**Character of
Lewis XIV.**

THE sovereign, who now filled the throne, was well adapted, by his personal character, both to increase and to avail himself of these advantages. Lewis XIV. endowed with every quality, which could enchant the people, possessed many which merit the approbation of the wise. The masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air: The dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness: Elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleasure without neglecting business, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midst of arbitrary power; he surpassed all cotemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory.

His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, had carefully provided every means of conquest; and before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely ensured success. His finances were brought into order: A naval power created: His armies increased and disciplined: Magazines and military stores provided: And though the magnificence of his court was sup-

ported beyond all former example, so regular was the œconomy observed, and so willingly did the people, now enriched by arts and commerce, submit to multiplied taxes, that his military force much exceeded what in any preceding age had ever been employed by any European monarch.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

THE sudden decline and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy, opened an inviting field to so enterprising a prince, and seemed to promise him easy and extensive conquests. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were astonished at the greatness of his rising empire; and all of them cast their eyes towards England, as the only power, which could save them from that subjection, with which they seemed to be so nearly threatened.

THE animosity, which had anciently subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century by the jealousy of Spanish greatness, began to revive and to exert itself. The glory of preserving the balance of Europe, a glory so much founded on justice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future security, by opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had contributed, among other reasons, to render the peace of Breda so universally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip IV. king of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and some very slender

CHAP. pretences, had been afforded to call forth the
 LXIV. ambition of Lewis.

1668.

AT the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis espoused the Spanish princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the most accurate and most precise terms, that language could afford. But on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended, that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain; but as the queen of France was of a former marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother. By the customs of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important dutchy.

French invasion of the Low Countries.

A CLAIM of this nature was more properly supported by military force than by argument and reasoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of 40,000 men, commanded by the best generals of the age, and provided with every thing necessary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreseen this measure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, fortifications, or garrisons, fell into the hands of the French king,

as soon as he presented himself before them. C H A P.
Athe, Lille, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, LXIV.
Charleroi, Binche were immediately taken: And 1668.
it was visible, that no force in the Low Countries was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms.

THIS measure, executed with such celerity and success, gave great alarm to almost every court in Europe. It had been observed with what dignity, or even haughtiness, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever supported all his rights and pretensions. D'Estrades, the French ambassador, and Watteville, the Spanish, having quarrelled in London, on account of their claims for precedence, the French monarch was not satisfied, till Spain sent to Paris a solemn embassy, and promised never more to revive such contests. Crequi, his ambassador at Rome, had met with an affront from the pope's guards: The pope, Alexander VII. had been constrained to break his guards, to send his nephew to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his own humiliation. The king of England too had experienced the high spirit and unsubmitting temper of Lewis. A pretension to superiority in the English flag having been advanced, the French monarch remonstrated with such vigor, and prepared himself to resist with such courage, that Charles found it more prudent to desist from his vain and antiquated claims. The king of England, said Lewis to his ambassador D'Estrades, may know my force, but he

C H A P. knows not the sentiments of my heart: Every
 LXIV. thing appears to me contemptible in comparison
 1668. of glory¹¹. These measures of conduct had given
 strong indications of his character: But the inva-
 sion of Flanders discovered an ambition, which,
 being supported by such overgrown power, me-
 naced the general liberties of Europe.

As no state lay nearer the danger, none was
 seized with more terror than the United Provinces.
 They were still engaged, together with France,
 in a war against England; and Lewis had promis-
 ed them, that he would take no step against
 Spain without previously informing them: But,
 contrary to this assurance, he kept a total silence,
 till on the very point of entering upon action.
 If the renunciation, made at the treaty of the
 Pyrenees, was not valid, it was foreseen, that
 upon the death of the king of Spain, a sickly
 infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed
 by Lewis; after which it would be vainly ex-
 pected to set bounds to his pretensions. Charles,
 acquainted with these well-grounded apprehen-
 sions of the Dutch, had been the more obstinate
 in insisting on his own conditions at Breda; and
 by delaying to sign the treaty, had imprudently
 exposed himself to the signal disgrace, which he
 received at Chatham. De Wit, sensible that a
 few weeks delay would be of no consequence
 in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of
 striking an important blow, and of finishing the

¹¹ 25th of January, 1662.

war with honor to himself and to his country.

NEGOCIATIONS meanwhile commenced for the saving of Flanders; but no resistance was made to the French arms. The Spanish ministers exclaimed every where against the flagrant injustice of Lewis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every power in Europe, even more than of Spain itself, to prevent his conquest of the Low Countries. The emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent; but their motions were slow and backward. The States, though terrified at the prospect of having their frontier exposed to so formidable a foe, saw no resource, no means of safety. England indeed seemed disposed to make opposition to the French; but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles kept that republic from making him any open advances, by which she might lose the friendship of France, without acquiring any new ally. And though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended, lest these, either from the obstinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, should never be carried into execution.

CHARLES resolved with great prudence to take the first step towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of saving the Netherlands. This man, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit

C H A P.

LXIV.

1668.

Negotia-
tions.

C H A P. for it, was frank, open, sincere, superior to the
 LXIV. little tricks of vulgar politicians: And meeting in
 1668. de Wit with a man of the same generous and
 enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his
 master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclu-
 sion. A treaty was from the first negociated
 between these two statesmen with the same cor-
 diality, as if it were a private transaction between
 intimate companions. Deeming the interests of
 their country the same, they gave full scope to
 that sympathy of character, which disposed them
 to an entire reliance on each other's professions
 and engagements. And though jealousy against
 the house of Orange might inspire de Wit with
 an aversion to a strict union with England, he
 generously resolved to sacrifice all private con-
 siderations to the public service.

TEMPLE insisted on an offensive league between
 England and Holland, in order to oblige France
 to relinquish all her conquests: But de Wit told
 him, that this measure was too bold and preci-
 pitate to be agreed to by the States. He said,
 that the French were the old and constant allies
 of the republic; and till matters came to extre-
 mities, she never would deem it prudent to
 abandon a friendship so well established, and rely
 entirely on a treaty with England, which had
 lately waged so cruel a war against her: That
 ever since the reign of Elizabeth, there had been
 such a fluctuation in the English councils, that
 it was not possible, for two years together, to
 take any sure or certain measures with that king-

dom : That though the present ministry , having entered into views so conformable to national interest, promised greater firmness and constancy, it might still be unsafe, in a business of such consequence, to put entire confidence in them: That the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremities rather than submit: That it was sufficient, if he could be constrained to adhere to the offers, which he himself had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby saved from the danger, with which they were at present threatened: And that the other powers, in Germany and the north, whose assistance they might expect, would be satisfied with putting a stop to the French conquests, without pretending to recover the places already lost.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

THE English minister was content to accept of the terms, proposed by the pensionary. Lewis had offered to relinquish all the queen's rights on condition either of keeping the conquests, which he had made last campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this proposal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refused, they agreed, that France should not prosecute her claim by arms, but leave it

C H A P. entirely to England and Holland to employ force
 LXIV. for making the terms effectual. And the remainder
 1668. of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed
 to Spain. A defensive alliance was likewise con-
 cluded between Holland and England.

THE articles of this confederacy were soon
 adjusted by such candid and able negociators:
 But the greatest difficulty still remained. By the
 constitution of the republic, all the towns in all
 the provinces must give their consent to every
 alliance; and besides that this formality could
 not be dispatched in less than two months, it
 was justly to be dreaded, that the influence of
 France would obstruct the passing of the treaty
 in some of the smaller cities. D'Estrades, the
 French ambassador, a man of abilities, hearing
 of the league, which was on the carpet, treated
 it lightly; "Six weeks hence," said he, "we
 shall speak to it." To obviate this difficulty,
 de Wit had the courage, for the public good,
 to break through the laws in so fundamental an
 article; and by his authority, he prevailed with
 the States General at once to sign and ratify the
 league: Though they acknowledged, that, if
 that measure should displease their constituents,
 they risked their heads by this irregularity. After
 sealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality.
 Temple cried out, *At Breda, as friends: Here, as
 brothers.* And de Wit added, that now the matter
 was finished, it looked like a miracle.

13th Jan.

Triple
 league.

Room had been left in the treaty for the
 accession of Sweden, which was soon after

obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal surprise and approbation by the world. Notwithstanding the unfortunate conclusion of the last war, England now appeared in her proper station, and, by this wise conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewise received great applause; but to all the compliments made him on the occasion, he modestly replied, that to remove things from their centre, or proper element, required force and labor; but that of themselves they easily returned to it.

THE French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure. Not only bounds were at present set to his ambition: Such a barrier was also raised as seemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had prescribed so short a time for the acceptance of it, that he still expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find some opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid showed equal displeasure. To relinquish any part of the Spanish provinces, in lieu of claims, so apparently unjust, and these urged with such violence and haughtiness, inspired the highest disgust. Often did the Spaniards threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries rather than submit to so cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous measures for their support. But Temple and de Wit were

G. H. A. P. better acquainted with the views and interests of
LXIV. Spain. They knew, that she must still retain the
1668. Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch should happen to die without issue, could ensure her independence against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in case of refusal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was minister for England; Van Beuningen for Holland; D'Ohna for Sweden.

**Treaty of
 Aix-la-
 Chapelle.**

SPAIN at last, pressed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered; but in her very compliance, she gave strong symptoms of ill-humor and discontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honor of the Spanish monarchy, had been anxious only for their own security; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a distance from their frontier, were more indifferent what progress he made in other places. Sensible of these views, the queen-regent of Spain resolved still to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at present to enter into. Franche-comté, by a vigorous and well concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous season, and in the midst of winter. She chose therefore to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign.

campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish provinces.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

BUT notwithstanding the advantages of his situation, the French monarch could entertain small hopes of ever extending his conquests on that quarter, which lay the most exposed to his ambition, and where his acquisitions were of most importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the emperor and other powers of Germany, whose interest seemed to be intimately concerned, were invited to enter into the same confederacy. Spain herself, having, about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigor and opposition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The great satisfaction, expressed in England, on account of the counsels now embraced by the court, promised the hearty concurrence of parliament in every measure, which could be proposed for opposition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe seemed to repose herself with security under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had been so happily formed for her protection. It is now time to give some account of the state of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

THE Scottish nation, though they had never been subject to the arbitrary power of their prince, had but very imperfect notions of law and liberty; and scarcely in any age had they ever enjoyed

Affairs of
Scotland.

C H A P. an administration, which had confined itself within
 LXIV. the proper boundaries. By their final union alone
 1668. with England, their once hated adversary, they
 have happily attained the experience of a govern-
 ment perfectly regular, and exempt from all
 violence and injustice. Charles, from his aversion
 to business, had intrusted the affairs of that
 country to his ministers, particularly Middleton;
 and these could not forbear making very extra-
 ordinary stretches of authority.

THERE had been intercepted a letter, written
 by lord Lorne to lord Duffus, in which, a little
 too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that
 his enemies had endeavoured by falshood to pre-
 possess the king against him. But he said, that
 he had now discovered them, had defeated them,
 and had gained the person, meaning the earl of
 Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them de-
 pended. This letter was produced before the
 parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old,
 tyrannical, absurd law against *Leasing-making*; by
 which it was rendered criminal to belie the
 subjects to the king, or create in him an ill
 opinion of them. He was condemned to die: But
 Charles was much displeased with the sentence,
 and granted him a pardon ¹².

IT was carried in parliament, that twelve
 persons, without crime, witness, trial, or accuser,
 should be declared incapable of all trust or office;
 and to render this injustice more egregious, it

¹² Burnet, p. 149.

was agreed, that these persons should be named by ballot: A method of voting, which several republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could serve only as a cover to malice and iniquity, in the inflicting of punishments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray, among others, were incapacitated: But the king, who disapproved of this injustice, refused his assent¹³.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

AN act was passed against all persons, who should move the king for restoring the children of those who were attainted by parliament; an unheard-of restraint on applications for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was but the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had established it as a maxim, that the assigning of a punishment was a limitation of the crown: Whereas a law, forbidding any thing, though without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that case, they determined, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commissioner passed this act; though he had no instructions for that purpose.

AN act of indemnity passed; but at the same time it was voted, that all those who had offended during the late disorders, should be subjected to fines; and a committee of parliament was appointed for imposing them. These proceeded without any regard to some equitable rules,

¹³ Burnet, p. 152.

H A P. which the king had prescribed to them ¹⁴. The
 LXIV. most obnoxious compounded secretly. No confi-
 1668. deration was had, either of men's riches, or of
 the degrees of their guilt: No proofs were pro-
 duced: Inquiries were not so much as made:
 But as fast as information was given in against
 any man, he was marked down for a particular
 fine: And all was transacted in a secret com-
 mittee. When the list was read in parliament,
 exceptions were made to several: Some had
 been under age during the civil wars; some had
 been abroad. But it was still replied, that a
 proper time would come, when every man should
 be heard in his own defence. The only intention,
 it was said, of setting the fines was, that such
 persons should have no benefit by the act of
 indemnity, unless they paid the sum demanded:
 Every one that chose to stand upon his innocence,
 and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might
 do it at his peril. It was well known, that no
 one would dare so far to set at defiance so arbi-
 trary an administration. The king wrote to the
 council, ordering them to supersede the levying
 of those fines: But Middleton found means,
 during some time, to elude these orders ¹⁵. And
 at last, the king obliged his ministers to compound
 for half the sums, which had been imposed. In
 all these transactions, and in most others, which
 passed during the present reign, we still find the
 moderating hand of the king, interposed to protect

¹⁴ Burnet, p. 147.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 201.

the Scots from the oppressions, which their own countrymen, employed in the ministry, were desirous of exercising over them.

C H A P.

LXIV.

1668

BUT the chief circumstance, whence were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the establishment of episcopacy; a mode of government, to which a great part of the nation had entertained an unfurmountable aversion. The rights of patrons had for some years been abolished; and the power of electing ministers had been vested in the kirk-session, and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, should receive a presentation from the patron, and should be instituted a-new by the bishop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid presbyterians concerted measures among themselves, and refused obedience: They imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty parishes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The western counties chiefly were obstinate in this particular. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom; and no one was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and respected their former teachers; men remarkable for the severity of their manners, and their fervor in preaching; were inflamed against these intruders, who had obtained their livings under such invidious circumstances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to soften the

C H A P. prejudices entertained against them. Even most
 LXIV. of those, who retained their livings by compli-
 1668. ance, fell under the imputation of hypocrisy,
 either by their showing a disgust to the new model
 of ecclesiastical government, which they had
 acknowledged; or on the other hand, by declar-
 ing, that their former adherence to presbytery
 and the covenant had been the result of violence
 and necessity. And as Middleton and the new
 ministry indulged themselves in great riot and
 disorder, to which the nation had been little
 accustomed, an opinion universally prevailed,
 that any form of religion, offered by such hands,
 must be profane and impious.

THE people, notwithstanding their discontents,
 were resolved to give no handle against them,
 by the least symptom of mutiny or sedition: But
 this submissive disposition, instead of procuring
 a mitigation of the rigors, was made use of as
 an argument for continuing the same measures,
 which by their vigor, it was pretended, had
 produced so prompt an obedience. The king,
 however, was disgusted with the violence of
 Middleton¹⁶; and he made Rothes commissioner
 in his place. This nobleman was already pre-
 sident of the council; and soon after was made
 lord keeper and treasurer. Lauderdale still conti-
 nued secretary of state, and commonly resided at
 London.

AFFAIRS remained in a peaceable state, till the

¹⁶ Burnet, p. 202.

severe law was made in England against conventicles¹⁷. The Scottish parliament imitated that violence, by passing a like act. A kind of high commission court was appointed by the privy-council, for executing this rigorous law, and for the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let loose by the council. Wherever the people had generally forsaken their churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whose natural ferocity of temper was often inflamed by the use of strong liquors. He went about, and received from the clergy lists of those who absented themselves from church, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them, and quartered soldiers on the supposed delinquents, till he received payment. As an insurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and intrusted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond; two officers, who had served the king during the civil wars, and had afterwards engaged in the service of Russia, where they had increased the native cruelty of their disposition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scottish ministry. Representations were made to the king against these enormities. He seemed touched with the

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

¹⁷ 1664.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

state of the country ; and besides giving orders, that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued, he signified his opinion, that another way of proceeding was necessary for his service¹⁸.

THIS lenity of the king's came too late to remedy the disorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were instigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They surprised Turner in Dumfries, and resolved to have put him to death ; but finding, that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they spared his life. At Lanerick, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and published their manifesto ; in which they professed all submission to the king : They desired only the re-establishment of presbytery and of their former ministers. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on suspicion ; Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had served, but in no high rank, were intrusted by the populace with the command. Their force never exceeded two thousand men ; and though the country in general bore them favor, men's spirits were so subdued, that the rebels could expect no farther accession of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose their progress. Their number was now diminished to 800 ; and these, having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the west by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the king's forces¹⁹.

¹⁸ Burnet, p. 213.

¹⁹ 28th November, 1666.

Finding that they could not escape, they stopped their march. Their clergy endeavoured to infuse courage into them. After singing some psalms, the rebels turned on the enemy; and being assisted by the advantage of the ground, they received the first charge very resolutely. But that was all the action; Immediately, they fell into disorder, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty taken prisoners. The rest, favored by the night, and by the weariness, and even by the pity of the king's troops, made their escape.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

THE oppressions which these people had suffered, the delusions under which they labored, and their inoffensive behaviour during the insurrection, made them the objects of compassion: Yet were the king's ministers, particularly Sharpe, resolved to take severe vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty-five before their own doors in different places. These criminals might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the king put a stop to them. He said, that blood enough had already been shed; and he wrote a letter to the privy-council, in which he ordered, that such of the prisoners as should simply promise to obey the laws for the future, should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations²⁰. This letter was brought by Burnet,

²⁰ Burnet, p. 237.

C H A P. archbishop of Glasgou; but not being immediate-
 LXIV. ly delivered to the council by Sharpe, the pre-
 1668. sident²¹, one Maccaill had in the interval been put
 to the torture, under which he expired. He
 seemed to die in an ecstasy of joy. "Farewel
 " sun, moon, and stars; farewel world and time;
 " farewel weak and frail body: Welcome eternity,
 " welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of
 " the world, and welcome God, the judge of all!"
 Such were his last words: And these animated
 speeches he uttered with an accent and manner,
 which struck all the bystanders with astonishment.

Affairs of
 Ireland.

THE settlement of Ireland after the restoration
 was a work of greater difficulty than that of
 England, or even of Scotland. Not only the
 power, during the former usurpations, had there
 been vested in the king's enemies: The whole
 property, in a manner, of the kingdom had also
 been changed; and it became necessary to redress
 but with as little violence as possible, many
 grievous hardships and iniquities, which were there
 complained of.

THE Irish catholics had in 1648 concluded a
 treaty with Ormond, the king's lieutenant; in
 which they had stipulated pardon for their past
 rebellion, and had engaged under certain con-
 ditions to assist the royal cause: And though
 the violence of the priests and the bigotry
 of the people had prevented, in a great mea-
 sure, the execution of this treaty; yet were

²¹ Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 255.

there many, who having strictly, at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, seemed on that account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwel, having without distinction expelled all the native Irish from the three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare; and among those who had thus been forfeited, were many whose innocence was altogether unquestionable. Several protestants likewise, and Ormond among the rest, had all along opposed the Irish rebellion; yet having afterwards embraced the king's cause against the parliament, they were all of them attainted by Cromwel. And there were many officers, who had, from the commencement of the insurrection, served in Ireland, and who, because they would not desert the king, had been refused all their arrears by the English Commonwealth.

To all these unhappy sufferers some justice seemed to be due: But the difficulty was to find the means of redressing such great and extensive iniquities. Almost all the valuable parts of Ireland had been measured out and divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to the parliament for the suppression of the Irish rebellion, or to the soldiers, who had received land in lieu of their arrears. These could not be dispossessed, because they were the most powerful and only armed part of Ireland; because it was requisite to favor them, in order to support the protestant and English interest in that kingdom; and because

C H A P.

LXIV.

1668.

C H A P. they had generally, with a seeming zeal and
 LXIV. alacrity, concurred in the king's restoration. The
 1668. king, therefore, issued a proclamation; in which
 he promised to maintain their settlement, and at
 the same time engaged to give redress to the in-
 nocent sufferers. There was a quantity of land as
 yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and some
 other funds, it was thought possible for the king
 to fulfil both these engagements.

A COURT OF CLAIMS was erected, consisting
 altogether of English commissioners, who had
 no connexion with any of the parties, into which
 Ireland was divided. Before these were laid four
 thousand claims of persons craving restitution on
 account of their innocence; and the commissioners
 had found leisure to examine only six hundred.
 It already appeared, that, if all these were to
 be restored, the funds, whence the adventurers
 and soldiers must get reprisals, would fall short of
 giving them any tolerable satisfaction. A great
 alarm and anxiety seized all ranks of men: The
 hopes and fears of every party were excited:
 These eagerly grasped at recovering their paternal
 inheritance: Those were resolute to maintain their
 new acquisitions.

THE duke of Ormond was created lord-lieu-
 tenant; being the only person, whose prudence
 and equity could compose such jarring interests.
 A parliament was assembled at Dublin; and as
 the lower house was almost entirely chosen by
 the soldiers and adventurers, who still kept pos-
 session, it was extremely favorable to that

interest. The house of peers showed greater impartiality. C H A P.

LXIV.

1668.

AN insurrection was projected, together with a surprisal of the castle of Dublin, by some of the disbanded soldiers; but this design was happily defeated by the vigilance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were punished. Blood, the most desperate of them, escaped into England.

BUT affairs could not long remain in the confusion and uncertainty, into which they had fallen. All parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to attain some stability, and Ormond interposed his authority for that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a third of their possessions; and as they had purchased their lands at very low prices, they had reason to think themselves favored by this composition. All those, who had been attainted on account of their adhering to the king, were restored; and some of the innocent Irish. It was a hard situation, that a man was obliged to prove himself innocent, in order to recover possession of the estate, which he and his ancestors had ever enjoyed: But the hardship was augmented, by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the person had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted to plead his innocence; and he was, for that reason alone, supposed to have been a rebel. The heinous guilt of the Irish nation made men the more readily overlook any iniquity, which might fall on individuals; and it was considered,

C H A P. that, though it be always the interest of all
 LXIV. good government to prevent injustice, it is not
 1668. always possible to remedy it, after it has had a
 long course, and has been attended with great
 successes.

IRELAND began to attain a state of some com-
 posure when it was disturbed by a violent act,
 passed by the English parliament, which prohibited
 the importation of Irish cattle into England²².
 Ormond remonstrated strongly against this law.
 He said, that the present trade, carried on be-
 tween England and Ireland, was extremely to the
 advantage of the former kingdom, which received
 only provisions, or rude materials, in return for
 every species of manufacture: That if the cattle
 of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of
 that island had no other commodity, by which
 they could pay England for their importations,
 and must have recourse to other nations for a
 supply: That the industrious inhabitants of Eng-
 land, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made
 living cheap, would be obliged to augment the
 price of labor, and thereby render their manu-
 factures too dear to be exported to foreign
 markets: That the indolent inhabitants of Ireland,
 finding provisions fall almost to nothing, would
 never be induced to labor, but would perpetuate
 to all generations their native sloth and barbarism:
 That by cutting off almost entirely the trade be-
 tween the kingdoms, all the natural bands of

²² In 1666.

union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty but force and violence : And that by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well grounded discontents, it must necessarily be retained in subjection.

C H A P.
LXIV.
1668.

THE king was so much convinced of the justness of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill ; and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were resolute in their purpose. Some of the rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been ascribed entirely to the importation of Irish cattle : Several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly those of Buckingham and Ashley, who were desirous of giving Ormond disturbance in his government : And the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their superiority over their dependent state. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the commons. They even went so far in the preamble of the bill as to declare the importation of Irish cattle to be a *nuisance*. By this expression, they gave scope to their passion, and at the same time barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law, so full of injustice and bad policy. The lords expunged the word ; but as the king was sensible, that no supply would be

C H A P. given by the commons, unless they were gratified
 LXIV. in their prejudices, he was obliged both to em-
 1668. ploy his interest with the peers for making the
 bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He
 could not, however, forbear expressing his dis-
 pleasure at the jealousy entertained against him,
 and at the intention, which the commons dis-
 covered of retrenching his prerogative.

THIS law brought great distress for some time
 upon the Irish; but it has occasioned their ap-
 plying with greater industry to manufactures,
 and has proved in the issue beneficial to that
 kingdom.

C H A P. LXV.

A Parliament — The Cabal — Their Characters — Their counsels — Alliance with France — A Parliament — Coventry act — Blood's crimes — Duke declares himself Catholic — Exchequer shut — Declaration of indulgence — Attack of the Smyrna fleet — War declared with Holland — Weakness of the States — Battle of Solebay — Sandwich killed — Progress of the French — Consternation of the Dutch — Prince of Orange Stadtholder — Massacre of the de Wits — Good conduct of the Prince — A Parliament — Declaration of indulgence recalled — Sea fight — Another sea fight — Another sea fight — Congress of Cologne — A Parliament — Peace with Holland.

SINCE the restoration, England had attained a situation, which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which seemed the only that could fully ensure, at once, her tranquillity and her liberty: The king was in continual want of supply from the parliament; and he seemed willing to accommodate himself to that dependent situation. Instead of reviving those claims of prerogative, so strenuously insisted on by his predecessors, Charles had strictly confined himself within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of his subjects. Even the severities, however blameable, which he had exercised against

C H A P.
LXV.
1668.

C H A P. nonconformists, are to be considered as expedients, by which he strove to ingratiate himself with that party, which predominated in parliament. But notwithstanding these promising appearances, there were many circumstances, which kept the government from resting steadily on that bottom, on which it was placed. The crown having lost almost all its ancient demesnes, relied entirely on voluntary grants of the people; and the commons not fully accustomed to this new situation, were not yet disposed to supply with sufficient liberality the necessities of the crown. They imitated too strictly the example of their predecessors in a rigid frugality of public money; and neither sufficiently considered the indigent condition of their prince, nor the general state of Europe; where every nation, by its increase both of magnificence and force, had made great additions to all public expenses. Some considerable sums, indeed, were bestowed on Charles; and the patriots of that age, tenacious of ancient maxims, loudly upbraided the commons with prodigality: But if we may judge by the example of a later period, when the government has become more regular, and the harmony of its parts has been more happily adjusted, the parliaments of this reign seem rather to have merited a contrary reproach.

THE natural consequence of the poverty of the crown was, besides feeble irregular transactions in foreign affairs, continual uncertainty in its domestic administration. No one could answer

with any tolerable assurance for the measures of the house of commons. Few of the members were attached to the court by any other band than that of inclination. Royalists indeed in their principles, but unexperienced in business, they lay exposed to every rumor or insinuation; and were driven by momentary gusts or currents, no less than the populace themselves. Even the attempts made to gain an ascendant over them, by offices, and, as it is believed, by bribes and pensions, were apt to operate in a manner contrary to what was intended by the ministers. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general, and indeed a just, alarm; while at the same time, the poverty of the crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

THE character of Charles was ill fitted to remedy those defects in the constitution. He acted in the administration of public affairs, as if government were a pastime, rather than a serious occupation; and by the uncertainty of his conduct, he lost that authority, which could alone bestow constancy on the fluctuating resolutions of the parliament. His expenses too, which sometimes perhaps exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy; and while they increased his dependence on the parliament, they were not calculated fully to satisfy either the interested or disinterested part of that assembly.

THE parliament met after a long adjournment; and the king promised himself every thing from the attachment of the commons. All his late

C H A P.
LXV.
1662.

8th of February.
A parliament.

CHAP. LXV. 1668. measures had been calculated to acquire the good will of his people; and above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the disagreeable impressions left by the unhappy conclusion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a laudable one too, lost him, for a time, the effect of all these endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favor with the king, and carried on many intrigues among the commons, had also endeavoured to support connexions with the nonconformists; and he now formed a scheme, in concert with the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the chief justice, Sir Matthew Hale, two worthy patriots, to put an end to those severities, under which these religionists had so long labored. It was proposed to reconcile the presbyterians by a comprehension, and to grant a toleration to the independents and other sectaries. Favor seems not, by this scheme, as by others embraced during the present reign, to have been intended the catholics: Yet were the zealous commons so disgusted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the king thanks for the triple league, however laudable that measure was then, and has ever since been esteemed. They immediately voted an address for a proclamation against conventicles. Their request was complied with; but as the king still dropped some hints of his desire to reconcile his protestant subjects, the commons passed a very unusual vote, that no man should bring into the house any bill of that nature.

The king in vain reiterated his solicitations for supply ; represented the necessity of equipping a fleet ; and even offered , that the money , which they should grant , should be collected and issued for that purpose by commissioners appointed by the house. Instead of complying , the commons voted an inquiry into all the miscarriages during the late war ; the slackening of sail after the duke's victory from false orders delivered by Brounker , the miscarriage at Berghen , the division of the fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle , the disgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the house , and ordered to be impeached. Commissioner Pet , who had neglected orders issued for the security of Chatham , met with the same fate. These impeachments were never prosecuted. The house at length , having been indulged in all their prejudices , were prevailed with to vote the king three hundred and ten thousand pounds , by an imposition on wine and other liquors ; after which they were adjourned.

C H A P.
LXV.
1668.

PUBLIC business , besides being retarded by the disgust of the commons against the tolerating maxims of the court , met with obstructions this session from a quarrel between the two houses. Skinner , a rich merchant in London , having suffered some injuries from the East India company , laid the matter by petition before the house of lords , by whom he was relieved in costs and damages to the amount of five thousand pounds. The commons voted , that the lords ,

11th of
May.

C H A P. in taking cognizance of this affair, originally,
 LXV. without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the subject of the right, ease, and benefit, due to him by these laws; and that Skinner, in prosecuting the suit after this manner, had infringed the privileges of the commons: For which offence, they ordered him to be taken into custody. Some conferences ensued between the houses; where the lords were tenacious of their right of judicature, and maintained, that the method, in which they had exercised it, was quite regular. The commons rose into a great ferment; and went so far as to vote, that “ whoever should
 “ be aiding or assisting in putting in execution
 “ the order or sentence of the house of lords, in
 “ the case of Skinner against the East India com-
 “ pany, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights
 “ and liberties of the commons of England, and
 “ an infringer of the privileges of the house of
 “ commons.” They rightly judged, that it would not be easy, after this vote, to find any one, who would venture to incur their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the lords seem in this case to have been unusual and without precedent.

1669,
 9th of
 October.

THE king's necessities obliged him again to assemble the parliament, who showed some disposition to relieve him. The price however, which he must pay for this indulgence, was his yielding to new laws against conventicles. His

complaifance in this particular contributed more to gain the commons, than all the pompous pretences of fupporting the triple alliance, that popular meafure, by which he expected to make fuch advantage. The quarrel between the two houfes was revived; and as the commons had voted only four hundred thoufand pounds, with which the king was not fatisfied, he thought proper before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them. The only bufinefs finifhed this fhort feffion was the receiving of the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the firft infpection of this report, there appears a great fum, no lefs than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the king had much abufed the truft repofed in him by parliament. But a more accurate infpection of particulars ferves, in a great meafure, to remove this imputation. The king indeed went fo far as to tell the parliament from the throne, “ That he had
 “ fully informed himfelf of that matter, and did
 “ affirm, that no part of thofe monies, which
 “ they had given him, had been diverted to
 “ other ufes, but on the contrary, befides all
 “ thofe fupplies, a very great fum had been
 “ raifed out of his ftanding revenue and credit,
 “ and a very great debt contracted; and all for
 “ the war.” Though artificial pretences have often been employed by kings in their fpeeches to parliament, and by none more than Charles, it is fomewhat difficult to fufpect him of a direct lie

C H A P.

LXV.

1669.

11th of December.

C H A P. and falshood. He must have had some reasons,
 LXV. and perhaps not unplaufible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time competent judges^r.

THE method, which all parliaments had hitherto followed, was to vote a particular sum for the supply, without any distinction or any appropriation to particular services. So long as the demands of the crown were small and casual, no great inconveniences arose from this practice. But as all the measures of government were now changed, it must be confessed, that, if the king made a just application of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by exposing him to suspicion, was prejudicial to him. If he were inclined to act otherwise, it was equally hurtful to the people. For these reasons, a contrary practice, during all the late reigns, has constantly been followed by the commons.

1670.
 14th February.

WHEN the parliament met after the prorogation, they entered a-new upon the business of supply, and granted the king an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spanish wine imported, eight on each tun of French. A law also passed empowering him to sell the fee farm rents; the last remains of the demesnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been supported. By this expedient he obtained some supply for his present neces-

^r See note [B] at the end of the volume.

fities, but left the crown, if possible, still more dependent than before. How much money might be raised by these sales is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thousand pounds, the sum assigned by some writers ².

THE act against conventicles passed, and received the royal assent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former persecuting laws; but if we may judge by the spirit, which had broken out almost every session during this parliament, it was not intended as any favor to the nonconformists. Experience probably had taught, that laws over-rigid and severe could not be executed. By this act the hearer in a conventicle (that is, in a dissenting assembly, where more than five were present, besides the family) was fined five shillings for the first offence, ten for the second; the preacher twenty pounds for the first offence, forty for the second. The person, in whose house the conventicle met, was amerced a like sum with the preacher. One clause is remarkable; that, if any dispute should arise with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges should always explain the doubt in the sense least favorable to conventicles, it being the intention of parliament entirely to suppress them. Such was the zeal of the com-

² Mr. Carte, in his vindication of the Answer to the Bystander, p. 99. says, that the sale of the fee farm rents would not yield above one hundred thousand pounds; and his reasons appear well founded.

C H A P. mons, that they violated the plainest and most
 LXV. established maxims of civil policy, which require,
 1670. that, in all criminal prosecutions, favor should
 always be given to the prisoner.

THE affair of Skinner still remained a ground of quarrel between the two houses; but the king prevailed with the peers to accept of the expedient proposed by the commons, that a general rasure should be made of all the transactions with regard to that disputed question.

SOME attempts were made by the king to effect a union between England and Scotland: Though they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties, which obstructed that useful and important undertaking. Commissioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions: But the design, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, soon after came to nothing.

THE king, about this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the house of peers. He said, that they amused him, and that he found them no less entertaining than a play. But deeper designs were suspected. As he seemed to interest himself extremely in the cause of lord Roos, who had obtained a divorce from his wife on the accusation of adultery, and applied to parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles intended to make a precedent of the case, and that some other pretence would be found for getting rid of the queen. Many proposals to this purpose, it is said, were made him by Buckingham: But the king, how little scrupulous

soever in some respects, was incapable of any action harsh or barbarous; and he always rejected every scheme of this nature. A suspicion however of such intentions, it was observed, had, at this time, begotten a coldness between the two royal brothers.

C H A P.
LXV.
1670.

WE now come to a period, when the king's counsels, which had hitherto, in the main, been good, though negligent and fluctuating, became, during some time, remarkably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealousies in all men, were followed by such consequences as had almost terminated in the ruin both of prince and people. Happily, the same negligence still attended him; and, as it had lessened the influence of the good, it also diminished the effect of the bad measures, which he embraced.

IT was remarked, that the committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and lord keeper Bridgeman, men in whose honor the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole secret was intrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. These men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counsels.

The Cabal.

LORD ASHLEY, soon after known by the name

Their characters.

C H A P. of earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the most re-
 LXV. markable characters of the age, and the chief
 1670. spring of all the succeeding movements. During
 his early youth, he had engaged in the late
 king's party; but being disgusted with some
 measures of prince Maurice, he soon deserted to
 the parliament. He insinuated himself into the
 confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great
 influence with the presbyterians, he was service-
 able in supporting, with his party, the authority
 of that usurper. He employed the same credit
 in promoting the restoration; and on that account
 both deserved and acquired favor with the king.
 In all his changes, he still maintained the character
 of never betraying those friends whom he desert-
 ed; and which-ever party he joined, his great
 capacity and singular talents soon gained him
 their confidence, and enabled him to take the
 lead among them. No station could satisfy his
 ambition, no fatigues were insuperable to his
 industry. Well acquainted with the blind attach-
 ment of faction, he surmounted all sense of shame:
 And relying on the subtilty of his contrivances,
 he was not startled with enterprises, the most
 hazardous and most criminal. His talents, both
 of public speaking and private insinuation, shone
 out in an eminent degree; and amidst all his
 furious passions, he possessed a sound judgment
 of business, and still more of men. Though
 fitted by nature for beginning and pushing the
 greatest undertakings, he was never able to
 conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent

abilities, by reason of his insatiable desires, were equally dangerous to himself, to the prince, and to the people.

C H A P.

LXV.

1670.

THE duke of Buckingham possessed all the advantages, which a graceful person, a high rank, a splendid fortune, and a lively wit could bestow; but by his wild conduct, unrestrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himself in the end odious and even insignificant. The least interest could make him abandon his honor; the smallest pleasure could seduce him from his interest; the most frivolous caprice was sufficient to counterbalance his pleasure. By his want of secrecy and constancy, he destroyed his character in public life; by his contempt of order and œconomy, he dissipated his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at last as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little desirous of doing good, to mankind.

THE earl, soon after created duke of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired, talents; but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just. His principles, or, more properly speaking, his prejudices, were obstinate, but unable to restrain his ambition; His ambition was still less dangerous than the tyranny and violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; insolent to his inferiors, but abject to his superiors; though in his whole character and deportment, he was almost diametrically opposite to the king,

C H A P. he had the fortune, beyond any other minister,
 LXV. to maintain, during the greater part of his reign,
 1670. an ascendant over him.

THE talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raised Sir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous spirit gave him weight in the king's councils. Of the whole cabal, Arlington was the least dangerous either by his vices or his talents. His judgment was sound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity to persevere in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeman, he had been a great promoter of the triple league; but he threw himself with equal alacrity into opposite measures, when he found them agreeable to his master. Clifford and he were secretly catholics: Shaftesbury, though addicted to astrology, was reckoned a deist: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any steady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigotted and furious presbyterian; and the opinions of that sect still kept possession of his mind, how little soever they appeared in his conduct.

Their coun-
 sels.

THE dark counsels of the cabal, though from the first they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thoroughly known but by the event. Such seem to have been the views, which they, in concurrence with some catholic courtiers, who had the ear of their sovereign, suggested to the king and the duke, and which these princes too greedily embraced. They said,

that the parliament, though the spirit of party, for the present, attached them to the crown, were still more attached to those powers and privileges, which their predecessors had usurped from the sovereign: That after the first flow of kindness was spent, they had discovered evident symptoms of discontent; and would be sure to turn against the king all the authority which they yet retained, and still more those pretensions which it was easy for them in a moment to revive: That they not only kept the king in dependence by means of his precarious revenue, but had never discovered a suitable generosity, even in those temporary supplies, which they granted him: That it was high time for the prince to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to recover that authority, which his predecessors, during so many ages, had peaceably enjoyed: That the great error or misfortune of his father was the not having formed any close connexion with foreign princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their interest in supporting him: That the present alliances, being entered into with so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the king's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less augment, the royal authority: That the French monarch alone, so generous a prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the king, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects: That a war, undertaken against Holland by the united force

C H A P.
LXV:
1670.

of two such mighty potentates, would prove an easy enterprize, and would serve all the purposes which were aimed at: That under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would vainly expect to defend his prerogative: That his naval power might be maintained, partly by the supplies, which, on other pretences, would previously be obtained from parliament; partly by subsidies from France; partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic: That in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the crown would be attended with success; nor would any malecontents dare to resist a prince, fortified by so powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause: And that by subduing the States, a great step would be made towards a reformation of the government; since it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious subjects, their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties.

THESE suggestions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the king; his desire of more extensive authority, his propensity to the catholic religion, his avidity for money. He seems likewise, from the very beginning of his reign, to have entertained great jealousy of his own subjects, and, on that account,

account, a desire of fortifying himself by an intimate alliance with France. So early as 1664, he had offered the French monarch to allow him without opposition to conquer Flanders, provided that prince would engage to furnish him with ten thousand infantry, and a suitable number of cavalry, in case of any rebellion in England³. As no dangerous symptom at that time appeared, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious disposition of his people.

C H A P.
LXV.
1670.

EVEN during the time, when the triple alliance was the most zealously cultivated, the king never seems to have been entirely cordial in those salutary measures, but still to have cast a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had much of his confidence, said imprudently, "Notwithstanding all this joy, we must have a second war with Holland." The accession of the Emperor to that alliance had been refused by England on frivolous pretences. And many unfriendly cavils were raised against the States with regard to Surinam and the conduct of the East India company⁴. But about April 1669, the strongest symptoms appeared of those fatal measures, which were afterwards more openly pursued.

DE WIT, at that time, came to Temple; and told him, that he paid him a visit as a friend,

³ D'Estrades, 21st July, 1667.

⁴ See note [C] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. not as a minister. The occasion was to acquaint
 LXV. him with a conversation which he had lately had
 1670. with Puffendorf, the Swedish agent, who had
 passed by the Hague in the way from Paris to
 his own country. The French ministers, Puffen-
 dorf said, had taken much pains to persuade him,
 that the Swedes would very ill find their account
 in those measures, which they had lately embraced:
 That Spain would fail them in all her promises
 of subsidies; nor would Holland alone be able to
 support them: That England would certainly fail
 them, and had already adopted counsels directly
 opposite to those which by the triple league she
 had bound herself to pursue: And that the resolu-
 tion was not the less fixed and certain, because
 the secret was as yet communicated to very few
 either in the French or English court. When
 Puffendorf seemed incredulous, Turenne showed
 him a letter from Colbert de Croissy, the French
 minister at London; in which, after mentioning
 the success of his negotiations, and the favorable
 disposition of the chief ministers there, he added,
 “ And I have at last made them sensible of the
 “ full extent of his majesty’s bounty ’.” From
 this incident it appears, that the infamous practice
 of selling themselves to foreign princes, a practice,
 which, notwithstanding the malignity of the
 vulgar, is certainly rare among men in high
 office, had not been scrupled by Charles’s mi-
 nisters, who even obtained their master’s consent
 to this dishonorable corruption.

⁵ Temple, vol. ii. p. 179.

BUT while all men of penetration, both abroad and at home, were alarmed with these incidents, the visit, which the king received from his sister, the dutchess of Orleans, was the foundation of still stronger suspicions. Lewis, knowing the address and insinuation of that amiable princess, and the great influence, which she had gained over her brother, had engaged her to employ all her good offices, in order to detach Charles from the triple league, which, he knew, had fixed such unfurmountable barriers to his ambition; and he now sent her to put the last hand to the plan of their conjunct operations. That he might the better cover this negociation, he pretended to visit his frontiers, particularly the great works which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the queen and the whole court along with him. While he remained on the opposite shore, the dutchess of Orleans went over to England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they passed ten days together in great mirth and festivity. By her artifices and caresses, she prevailed on Charles to relinquish the most settled maxims of honor and policy, and to finish his engagements with Lewis for the destruction of Holland; as well as for the subsequent change of religion in England.

BUT Lewis well knew Charles's character, and the usual fluctuation of his counsels. In order to fix him in the French interests, he resolved to bind him by the ties of pleasure, the only ones which with him were irresistible; and he made

C H A P.
LXV.
1670.

16th May.

Alliance
with France

C H A P. him a present of a French mistress, by whose
LXV. means he hoped, for the future, to govern him.
1670. The dutchess of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Queroüaille, whom the king carried to London, and soon after created dutchess of Portsmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole course of his life; and she proved a great means of supporting his connexions with her native country.

THE satisfaction, which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his sister, and still more by those melancholy circumstances which attended it. Her death was sudden, after a few days illness; and she was seized with the malady upon drinking a glass of succory-water. Strong suspicions of poison arose in the court of France, and were spread all over Europe; and as her husband had discovered many symptoms of jealousy and discontent on account of her conduct, he was universally believed to be the author of the crime. Charles himself, during some time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the attestation of physicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumor, he was, or pretended to be satisfied. The duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumstance of his life, betray such dispositions as might lead him to so criminal an action; and a lady, it is said, drank the remains of the same glass, without feeling any inconvenience. The sudden death of princes is commonly accompanied

with these dismal surmises; and therefore less weight is in this case to be laid on the suspicions of the public.

C H A P.
LXV.
1670.

CHARLES, instead of breaking with France upon this incident, took advantage of it to send over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther measures for the projected war. Never ambassador received greater caresses. The more destructive the present measures were to the interests of England, the more natural was it for Lewis to load with civilities, and even with favors, those whom he could engage to promote them.

THE journey of Buckingham augmented the suspicions in Holland, which every circumstance tended still farther to confirm. Lewis made a sudden irruption into Lorraine; and though he missed seizing the duke himself, who had no surmise of the danger, and who narrowly escaped, he was soon able, without resistance, to make himself master of the whole country. The French monarch was so far unhappy, that, though the most tempting opportunities offered themselves, he had not commonly so much as the pretence of equity and justice to cover his ambitious measures. This acquisition of Lorraine ought to have excited the jealousy of the contracting powers in the triple league, as much as an invasion of Flanders itself; yet did Charles turn a deaf ear to all remonstrances, made him upon that subject.

E H A P.
LXV.
1670.

BUT what tended chiefly to open the eyes of de Wit and the States, with regard to the measures of England, was the sudden recal of Sir William Temple. This minister had so firmly established his character of honor and integrity, that he was believed incapable even of obeying his master's commands, in promoting measures which he esteemed pernicious to his country; and so long as he remained in employment, de Wit thought himself assured of the fidelity of England. Charles was so sensible of this prepossession, that he ordered Temple to leave his family at the Hague, and pretended, that that minister would immediately return, after having conferred with the king about some business, where his negociation had met with obstructions. De Wit made the Dutch resident inform the English court, that he should consider the recal of Temple as an express declaration of a change of measures in England; and should even know what interpretation to put upon any delay of his return.

24th Oct.
A parliament.

WHILE these measures were secretly in agitation, the parliament met, according to adjournment. The king made a short speech, and left the business to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That minister much insisted on the king's great want of supply; the mighty increase of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the last war with Holland; the decay of the English navy; the necessity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty sail; the obligations

which the king lay under by several treaties to exert himself for the common good of christendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defensive league with the States.

C H A P.

LXV.

1670.

THE artifice succeeded. The house of commons, entirely satisfied with the king's measures, voted him considerable supplies. A land-tax for a year was imposed of a shilling a pound; two shillings a pound on two thirds of the salaries of offices; fifteen shillings on every hundred pounds of bankers' money and stock; an additional excise upon beer for six years, and certain impositions upon law-proceedings for nine years. The parliament had never before been in a more liberal humor; and never surely was it less merited by the counsels of the king and of his ministers.

This year, on the 3d of January, died George Monk, duke of Albemarle, at Newhall in Essex, after a languishing illness, and in the sixty-third year of his age. He left a great estate of 15,000 l. a year in land, and 60,000 l. in money, acquired by the bounty of the king, and increased by his own frugality in his later years. Bishop Burnet, who, agreeably to his own factious spirit, treats this illustrious personage with great malignity, reproaches him with avarice: But as he appears not to have been in the least tainted with rapacity, his frugal conduct may more candidly be imputed to the habits, acquired in early life, while he was possessed of a very narrow fortune. It is indeed a singular proof of the strange power of faction, that any malignity should pursue the memory of a nobleman, the tenor of whose life was so unexceptionable, and who, by restoring the ancient and legal and free government to three kingdoms, plunged in the most destructive anarchy, may

C H A P.

LXV.

1671.

THE commons passed another bill, for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch salt, glasses, and some other commodities. Against this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the house of lords. The lords entered into their reasons, and began to make amendments on the bill sent up by the commons. This attempt was highly resented by the lower house, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to possess alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonstrances passed between the two houses; and by their altercations the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament; and he thereby lost the money which was intended him.

22d April.

This is the last time that the peers have revived any pretensions of that nature. Ever since, the

safely be said to be the subject, in these islands, who, since the beginning of time, rendered the most durable and most essential services to his native country. The means also, by which he atchieved his great undertakings, were almost entirely unexceptionable. His temporary dissimulation, being absolutely necessary, could scarcely be blameable. He had received no trust from that mungrel, pretended, usurping parliament whom he dethroned; therefore could betray none: He even refused to carry his dissimulation so far as to take the oath of abjuration against the king. I confess, however, that the Rev. Dr. Douglas has shown me, from the Clarendon-papers an original letter of his to Sir Arthur Hazelrig, containing very earnest, and certainly false protestations of his zeal for a commonwealth. It is to be lamented, that so worthy a man, and of such plain manners, should ever have found it necessary to carry his dissimulation to such a height. His family ended with his son.

privilege of the commons, in all other places, except in the house of peers, has passed for uncontroverted.

C H A P.
LXV.
1671.

THERE was a private affair, which during this session disgusted the house of commons, and required some pains to accommodate it. The usual method of those who opposed the court in the money-bills, was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the supply, to levy the money upon such funds as they expected would be unacceptable, or would prove deficient. It was proposed to lay an imposition upon play-houses: The courtiers objected, that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country-party, asked, "whether the king's pleasure lay among the male or the female players?" This stroke of satire was aimed at Charles, who, besides his mistresses of higher quality, entertained at that time two actresses, Davis and Nell Gwin. The king received not the raillery with the good humor, which might have been expected. It was said, that this being the first time, that respect to majesty had been publicly violated, it was necessary, by some severe chastisement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footsteps. Sands, Obrian, and some other officers of the guards were ordered to way-lay him, and to set a mark upon him. He defended himself with bravery, and after wounding several of the assailants, was disarmed with some difficulty.

C H A P. LXV. 1671. They cut his nose to the bone, in order, as they said, to teach him what respect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words spoken in the house. They passed a law, which made it capital to maim any person; and they enacted, that those criminals, who had assaulted Coventry, should be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

Coventry
act.

Blood's
crimes.

THERE was another private affair transacted about this time, by which the king was as much exposed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unnecessary severity. Blood, a disbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Ireland; and on account of this crime he himself had been attainted, and some of his accomplices capitally punished. The daring villain meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night time, as it drove along St. James's street in London; and he made himself master of his person. He might here have finished the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: He was resolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himself to the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was fastened.

They were struggling together in the mire; when Ormond's servants, whom the alarm had reached, came and saved him. Blood and his companions, firing their pistols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and saved themselves by means of the darkness.

C H A P.

LXV.

1671.

BUCKINGHAM was at first, with some appearances of reason, suspected to be the author of this attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity against Ormond, exposed him to that imputation. Offory soon after came to court; and seeing Buckingham stand by the king, his color rose, and he could not forbear expressing himself to this purpose. "My lord, I know well, that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father: But I give you warning; if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance". If there was here any indecorum, it was easily excused in a generous youth, when his father's life was exposed to danger.

A LITTLE after, Blood formed a design of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower; a design, to which he was prompted, as well by

² Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 225.

C H A P. the surprising boldness of the enterprize, as by
 LXV. the views of profit. He was near succeeding.
 1671. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper
 of the jewel-office, and had gotten out of the
 Tower with his prey; but was overtaken and
 seized, with some of his associates. One of them
 was known to have been concerned in the at-
 tempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately
 concluded to be the ringleader. When questioned,
 he frankly avowed the enterprize; but refused to
 tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he
 said, "should never engage him, either to deny
 "a guilt, or betray a friend." All these extra-
 ordinary circumstances made him the general
 subject of conversation; and the king was moved
 by an idle curiosity to see and speak with a
 person, so noted for his courage and his crimes.
 Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon;
 and he wanted not address to improve the op-
 portunity. He told Charles, that he had been
 engaged, with others, in a design to kill him
 with a carabine above Battersea, where his majesty
 often went to bathe: That the cause of this reso-
 lution was the severity exercised over the con-
 sciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty
 of their religious assemblies: That when he had
 taken his stand among the reeds, full of these
 bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked
 with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented
 himself, but diverted his associates from their
 purpose: That he had long ago brought himself
 to an entire indifference about life, which he now

gave for lost; yet could he not forbear warning the king of the danger which might attend his execution: That his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any of the confederacy: And that no precaution or power could secure any one from the effects of their desperate resolutions.

WHETHER these considerations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his resolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a point of decency, first to obtain the duke of Ormond's consent. Arlington came to Ormond in the king's name, and desired that he would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that his majesty's commands were the only reason, that could be given; and being sufficient, he might therefore spare the rest. Charles carried his kindness to Blood still farther: He granted him an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his person; he showed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretensions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deserved only to be stared at, and detested as a monster, became a kind of favorite.

ERRORS of this nature in private life have often as bad an influence as miscarriages, in which the public is more immediately concerned. Another

C H A P.
LXV.
1671.

C H A P. incident happened this year, which infused a
 LXV. general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions,
 1671. into all men. The dutchess of York died; and
 in her last sickness, she made open profession of
 the Romish religion, and finished her life in that
 communion. This put an end to that thin dis-
 guise, which the duke had hitherto worn; and
 he now openly declared his conversion to the
 church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery,
 ever since the accession of the house of Stuart,
 had prevailed throughout the nation; but these
 had formerly been found so groundless, and had
 been employed to so many bad purposes, that
 surmises of this nature were likely to meet with
 the less credit among all men of sense; and
 nothing but the duke's imprudent bigotry could
 have convinced the whole nation of his change
 of religion. Popery, which had hitherto been
 only a hideous spectre, was now become a real
 ground of terror; being openly and zealously
 embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of
 industry and enterprise; while the king himself
 was not entirely free from like suspicions.

Duke de-
 clares him-
 self catholic.

IT is probable, that the new alliance with
 France inspired the duke with the courage to
 make open profession of his religion, and ren-
 dered him more careless of the affections and
 esteem of the English. This alliance became every
 day more apparent. Temple was declared to be
 no longer ambassador to the States; and Down-
 ing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate
 enemy of their republic, was sent over in his

stead. A ground of quarrel was sought by means of a yacht, dispatched for lady Temple. The captain sailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coasts; and he had orders to make them strike, to fire on them, and to persevere till they should return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, surprised at this bravado, came on board the yacht, and expressed his willingness to pay respect to the British flag, according to former practice: But that a fleet, on their own coasts, should strike to a single vessel, and that not a ship of war, was, he said, such an innovation, that he durst not, without express orders, agree to it. The captain, thinking it dangerous, as well as absurd, to renew firing in the midst of the Dutch fleet, continued his course; and for that neglect of orders was committed to the Tower.

C H A P.
LXV.
1671.

THIS incident, however, furnished Downing with a new article to increase those vain pretences, on which it was purposed to ground the intended rupture. The English court delayed several months before they complained; lest, if they had demanded satisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was bound by his instructions not to accept of any satisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays absolutely unavoidable. An answer, however, though refused by Downing, was sent

C H A P. LXV. over to London; with an ambassador extraordinary, who had orders to use every expedient, that might give satisfaction to the court of England. That court replied, that the answer of the Hollanders was ambiguous and obscure; but they would not specify the articles or expressions, which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambassador desired the English ministers to draw the answer in what terms they pleased; and he engaged to sign it: The English ministry replied, that it was not their business to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambassador brought them the draught of an article, and asked them whether it were satisfactory: The English answered, that, when he had signed and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman resolved to sign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new audience, an hour was appointed for that purpose: But when he attended, the English refused to enter upon business, and told him, that the season for negotiating was now past^s.

1672. LONG and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament; lest the houses should declare themselves with vigor against counsels, so opposite

^s England's Appeal, p. 22. This year, on the 12th of November, died, in his retreat, and in the 60th year of his age, Thomas lord Fairfax, who performed many great actions, without being a memorable personage, and allowed himself to be carried into many criminal enterprizes, with the best and most upright intentions. His daughter and heir was married to George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

to the inclination as well as interests of the public. Could we suppose, that Charles, in his alliance against Holland, really meant the good of his people, that measure must pass for an extraordinary, nay, a romantic, strain of patriotism, which could lead him, in spite of all difficulties, and even in spite of themselves, to seek the welfare of the nation. But every step, which he took in this affair, became a proof to all men of penetration, that the present war was intended against the religion and liberties of his own subjects, even more than against the Dutch themselves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an absolute monarch, and was never more to lie under the controul of national assemblies.

THE long prorogations of parliament, if they freed the king from the importunate remonstrances of that assembly, were however attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations against Holland. Under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which, at that very time, he had firmly resolved to break, Charles had obtained a large supply from the commons; but this money was soon exhausted by debts and expenses. France had stipulated to pay two hundred thousand pounds a year during the war; but that supply was inconsiderable, compared to the immense charge of the English navy. It seemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without consent of parliament; since the power

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C H A P. of taxing themselves was the privilege, of which
 LXV. the English were, with reason, particularly jea-
 1672. lous. Some other resource must be fallen on. The king had declared, that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one, that could find an expedient for supplying the present necessities. Shaftesbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately seized, and carried to the king, who granted him the promised reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the shutting up of the Exchequer, and the retaining of all the payments, which should be made into it.

2d January.
 Exchequer
 shut.

It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon security of the funds, by which they were afterwards re-imburfed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes ten, per cent. for sums, which either had been consigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent.: Profits, which they dearly paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The measure was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could answer no bills; distrust took place every where, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected. And men, full of dismal apprehensions, asked each other, what must be the scope of those myste-

rious counfels, whence the parliament and all men of honor were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the moft folemn engagements, both foreign and domeftic.

ANOTHER measure of the court contains something laudable, when confidered in itfelf; but if we reflect on the motive whence it proceeded, as well as the time when it was embraced, it will furnifh a ftrong proof of the arbitrary and dangerous counfels, purfued at prefent by the king and his miniftry. Charles refolved to make ufe of his fupreme power in ecclefiaftical matters; a power, he faid, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recognized by feveral acts of parliament. By virtue of this authority, he iffued a proclamation; fufpending the penal laws, enacted againft all nonconformifts or recufants whatfoever; and granting to the proteftant diffenters the public exercife of their religion, to the catholics the exercife of it in private houfes. A fruitlefs experiment of this kind, oppofed by the parliament, and retracted by the king, had already been made a few years after the reftoration; but Charles expected, that the parliament, whenever it fhould meet, would now be tamed to greater fubmiffion, and would no longer dare to controul his meafures. Meanwhile, the diffenters, the moft inveterate enemies of the court, were mollified by thefe indulgent maxims: And the catholics, under their fhelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.
Declaration
of indul-
gence.

15th March

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

AT the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by royal will and pleasure: A measure, which, though a stretch of prerogative, seemed useful to commerce, while all the seamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like suspension had been granted, during the first Dutch war, and was not much remarked; because men had, at that time, entertained less jealousy of the crown. A proclamation was also issued, containing rigorous clauses in favor of pressing: Another full of menaces against those who presumed to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures, and even against those who heard such discourse, unless they informed in due time against the offenders: Another against importing or vending any sort of painted earthen ware, "except those of China, upon pain of being grievously fined, and suffering the utmost punishment, which might be lawfully inflicted upon contemners of his majesty's royal authority." An army had been levied; and it was found, that discipline could not be enforced without the exercise of martial law, which was therefore established by order of council, though contrary to the petition of right. All these acts of power, how little important soever in themselves, favored strongly of arbitrary government, and were nowise suitable to that legal administration, which the parliament, after such violent convulsions and civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

It may be worth remarking, that the lord-

keeper refused to affix the great seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws; and was for that reason, though under other pretences, removed from his office. Shaftesbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his counsels.

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.

FOREIGN transactions kept pace with these domestic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by Sir Robert Holmes. This fleet consisted of seventy sail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of seizing so rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the present war, and he had considered that capture as a principal resource for supporting his military enterprises. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go on this command; and he passed Sprague in the channel, who was returning with a squadron from a cruise in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a desire of engrossing the honor and profit of the enterprise, kept the secret of his orders, the conjunction of these squadrons had rendered the success infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Nes, who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him; one of his captains gave a like insidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But these officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hostile intentions of the English,

Attack of
the Smyrna
fleet.

13th March

C H A P. and had already put all the ships of war and
 LXV. merchant-men in an excellent posture of defence.
 1672. Three times were they valiantly assailed by the
 English; and as often did they valiantly defend
 themselves. In the third attack one of the Dutch
 ships of war was taken: And three or four of
 their most inconsiderable merchant-men fell into
 the enemies' hands. The rest, fighting with skill
 and courage, continued their course; and favored
 by a mist, got safe into their own harbours. This
 attempt is denominated perfidious and piratical
 by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the
 English. It merits at least the appellation of
 irregular; and as it had been attended with bad
 success, it brought double shame upon the con-
 trivers. The English ministry endeavoured to
 apologize for the action, by pretending that it
 was a casual rencounter, arising from the obstinacy
 of the Dutch, in refusing the honors of the flag:
 But the contrary was so well known, that even
 Holmes himself had not the assurance to persist
 in this asseveration.

TILL this incident the States, notwithstanding
 all the menaces and preparations of the English,
 never believed them thoroughly in earnest; and
 had always expected, that the affair would termi-
 nate, either in some demands of money, or in
 some proposals for the advancement of the prince
 of Orange. The French themselves had never
 much reckoned on assistance from England; and
 scarcely could believe, that their ambitious pro-
 jects would, contrary to every maxim of honor

and policy, be forwarded by that power, which was most interested, and most able to oppose them. But Charles was too far advanced to retreat. He immediately issued a declaration of war against the Dutch; and surely reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are there made of injuries done to the East India company, which yet that company disavowed: The detention of some English in Surinam is mentioned; though it appears, that these persons had voluntarily remained there: The refusal of a Dutch fleet on their own coasts to strike to an English yacht, is much aggravated: And to piece up all these pretensions, some abusive pictures are mentioned, and represented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loss what to make of this article; till it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of certain magistrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the perspective of this portrait, the painter had drawn some ships on fire in a harbour. This was construed to be Chatham, where de Wit had really distinguished himself, and had acquired honor; but little did he imagine, that, while the insult itself, committed in open war, had so long been forgiven, the picture of it should draw such severe vengeance upon his country. The conclusion of this manifesto, where the king still

C H A R.
LXV.
1672.

17th March.
War de-
clared with
Holland.

C H A P. professed his resolution of adhering to the triple alliance, was of a piece with the rest of it.

LXV.

1672.

LEWIS'S declaration of war contained more dignity, if undisguised violence and injustice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been such, that it did not consist with his glory any longer to bear it. That monarch's preparations were in great forwardness, and his ambition was flattered with the most promising views of success. Sweden was detached from the triple league: The bishop of Munster was engaged by the payment of subsidies to take part with France: The elector of Cologne had entered into the same alliance; and having consigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter that France purposed to invade the United Provinces. The standing force of that kingdom amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand men; and with more than half of this great army was the French king now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, œconomy, and industry of Colbert, equally subservient to the ambition of the prince and happiness of the people, furnished unexhausted treasures: These, employed by the unrelenting vigilance of Louvois, supplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterprises of the army: Condé, Turenne, seconded by Luxembourg, Crequi, and the most renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inspired courage into

every one. The monarch himself, furrounded c H A P.
with a brave nobility, animated his troops by LXV.
the prospect of reward, or, what was more 1672.
valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The
fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety:
Its dangers furnished matter for glory: And in
no enterprize did the genius of that gallant and
polite people ever break out with more distin-
guished lustre.

THOUGH de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts
was not equal to the vigilance of his domestic
administration, he had, long before, received
many surmises of this fatal confederacy; but he
prepared not for defence, so early or with such
industry, as the danger required. A union of
England with France was evidently, he saw,
destructive to the interests of the former king-
dom; and therefore, overlooking or ignorant of
the humors and secret views of Charles, he con-
cluded it impossible, that such pernicious projects
could ever really be carried into execution. Secure
in this fallacious reasoning, he allowed the repub-
lic to remain too long in that defenceless situation,
into which many concurring accidents had con-
spired to throw her.

By a continued and successful application to
commerce, the people were become unwarlike,
and confided entirely for their defence in that
mercenary army, which they maintained. After
the treaty of Westphalia, the States, trusting to
their peace with Spain, and their alliance with
France, had broken a great part of this army,

Weakness
of the
States.

C H A P. LXV. 1672. and did not support with sufficient vigilance the discipline of the troops which remained. When the aristocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to dismiss many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the house of Orange; and their place was supplied by raw youths, the sons or kinsmen of burgomasters, by whose interest the party was supported. These new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and some of them, it is said, were even allowed to serve by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of that nation had been disbanded: Lewis's invasion of Flanders, followed by the triple league, occasioned the dismissal of the French regiments: And the place of these troops, which had ever had a chief share in the honor and fortune of all the wars in the Low Countries, had not been supplied by any new levies.

DE Wit, sensible of this dangerous situation, and alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, exerted himself to supply those defects, to which it was not easy of a sudden to provide a suitable remedy. But every proposal, which he could make, met with opposition from the Orange party, now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontrouled administration of this statesman had begotten envy: The present incidents roused up his enemies and opponents, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the bad

situation of the republic: And, above all, the popular affection to the young prince, which had so long been held in violent constraint, and had thence acquired new accession of force, began to display itself, and to threaten the commonwealth with some great convulsion. William III, prince of Orange, was in the twenty-second year of his age, and gave strong indications of those great qualities, by which his life was afterwards so much distinguished. De Wit himself, by giving him an excellent education, and instructing him in all the principles of government and sound policy, had generously contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious situation of his own party, he was always resolved, he said, by conveying to the prince the knowledge of affairs, to render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergency should ever throw the administration into his hands. The conduct of William had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithstanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburg, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenor of his behaviour suited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to inquire; of a sound and steady understanding; firm in what he once resolved, or once denied; strongly intent on business, little on pleasure: By these virtues he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, sensible that they owed their liberty, and very existence, to his family,

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

C H A P. and remembering, that his great uncle, Maurice,
 LXV. had been able, even in more early youth, to
 1672. defend them against the exorbitant power of Spain,
 were desirous of raising this prince to all the
 authority of his ancestors, and hoped, from his
 valor and conduct alone, to receive protection
 against those imminent dangers, with which they
 were at present threatened.

WHILE these two powerful factions struggled
 for superiority, every scheme for defence was
 opposed, every project retarded. What was
 determined with difficulty, was executed without
 vigor. Levies indeed were made, and the army
 completed to seventy thousand men⁹. The
 prince was appointed both general and admiral
 of the commonwealth, and the whole military
 power was put into his hands. But new troops
 could not of a sudden acquire discipline and
 experience: And the partisans of the prince were
 still unsatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, so
 it was called, remained in force; by which he
 was excluded from the stadtholdership, and from
 all share in the civil administration.

It had always been the maxim of de Wit's
 party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care,
 and to give the fleet a preference above the army,
 which they represented as the object of an unrea-
 sonable partiality in the princes of Orange. The
 two violent wars, which had of late been waged
 with England, had exercised the valor, and

⁹ Temple, vol. i. p. 75.

improved the skill of the sailors. And, above all, de Ruyter, the greatest sea-commander of the age, was closely connected with the Lovestein party; and every one was disposed, with confidence and alacrity, to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore hastened by de Wit; in hopes, that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might inspire courage into the dismayed States, and support his own declining authority. He seems to have been, in a peculiar manner, incensed against the English; and he resolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, he himself and his country had such reason to complain. By the offer of a close alliance for mutual defence, they had seduced the republic to quit the alliance of France; but no sooner had she embraced these measures, than they formed leagues for her destruction, with that very power, which they had treacherously engaged her to offend. In the midst of full peace, nay, during an intimate union, they attacked her commerce, her only means of subsistence; and, moved by shameful rapacity, had invaded that property, which, from a reliance on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceless. Contrary to their own manifest interest, as well as to their honor, they still retained a malignant resentment for her successful conclusion of the former war; a war, which had, at first, sprung from their own wanton insolence and ambition. To repress so dangerous an enemy, would, de Wit imagined, give peculiar pleasure,

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.

C H A P. and contribute to the future security of his coun-
 LXV. try, whose prosperity was so much the object of
 1672. general envy.

Battle of
 Solebay.
 28th May.

ACTUATED by like motives and views, de Ruyter put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships of war and forty-four fire-ships. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the States. They sailed in quest of the English, who were under the command of the duke of York, and who had already joined the French under marechal d'Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent posture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received, it is said, such an answer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his post with precipitation, and many ships were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readiness. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or to perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the whole fleet was visibly indebted to him for its safety. He hastened out of the bay, where it had been easy for de Ruyter with his fireships to have destroyed the combined fleets, which were crowded together; and by this wise measure he gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to marechal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to disengage themselves. He himself meanwhile rushed into battle with the Hollanders;

and by presenting himself to every danger, had drawn upon him all the bravest of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship: He sunk another ship, which ventured to lay him aboard: He sunk three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him: And though his vessel was torn in pieces with shot, and of a thousand men she contained, near six hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued still to thunder with all his artillery in the midst of the enemy. But another fire-ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refused to make his escape, and bravely embraced death as a shelter from that ignominy, which a rash expression of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him.

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

Sandwich
killed.

DURING this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought him with such fury for above two hours, that of two-and-thirty actions, in which that admiral had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the most obstinately disputed. The duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His squadron was overpowered with numbers; till Sir Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded to Sandwich's command, came to his assistance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by

C H A P. the English. The loss sustained by the fleets of
 LXV. the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it
 1672. did not rather fall more heavy on the English.
 The French suffered very little, because they
 had scarcely been engaged in the action; and as
 this backwardness is not their national character,
 it was concluded, that they had received secret
 orders to spare their ships, while the Dutch and
 English should weaken each other by their mutual
 animosity. Almost all the other actions, during
 the present war, tended to confirm this sus-
 picion.

It might be deemed honorable for the Dutch,
 to have fought with some advantage the com-
 bined fleets of two such powerful nations; but
 nothing less than a complete victory could serve
 the purpose of de Wit, or save his country from
 those calamities, which from every quarter
 threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected,
 that the French would make their attack on the
 side of Maestricht, which was well fortified, and
 provided with a good garrison; but Lewis,
 taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne,
 resolved to invade the enemy on that frontier,
 which he knew to be more feeble and defence-
 less. The armies of that elector, and those of
 Munster appeared on the other side of the Rhine,
 and divided the force and attention of the States.
 The Dutch troops, too weak to defend so ex-
 tensive a frontier, were scattered into so many
 towns, that no considerable body remained in
 the field; and a strong garrison was scarcely to
 be

be found in any fortrefs. Lewis passed the Meuse at Vifet; and laying fiege to Orfoi, a town of the elector of Brandenburg's, but garrisoned by the Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and invested at once Burik, Wefel, Emerik, and Rhineberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided with troops: In a few days all these places were surrendered. A general astonishment had seized the Hollanders, from the combination of such powerful princes against the republic; and no where was resistance made, fuitable to the ancient glory or present greatness of the state. Governors without experience commanded troops without discipline; and despair had universally extinguished that sense of honor, by which alone, men, in such dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence.

LEWIS advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to pass. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the season, by which the greatest rivers were much diminished, and in some places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themselves into the river: The infantry passed in boats: A few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other side, who were unable to make resistance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the passage of the Rhine; so much celebrated, at that time, by the flattery

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

14th May.

Progress of
the French.

2d June.

C H A P. of the French courtiers, and transmitted to posterity by the more durable flattery of their poets.
 LXV.
 1672.

EACH success added courage to the conquerors, and struck the vanquished with dismay. The prince of Orange, though prudent beyond his age, was but newly advanced to the command, unacquainted with the army, unknown to them; and all men, by reason of the violent factions which prevailed, were uncertain of the authority on which they must depend. It was expected, that the fort of Skenk, famous for the sieges which it had formerly sustained, would make some resistance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The same general made himself master of Arnheim, Knotzenbourg, and Nimeguen, as soon as he appeared before them. Doesbourg at the same time opened its gates to Lewis: Soon after, Harderwic, Amersfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwoll, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, Woerden, fell into the enemies' hands. Groll and Deventer surrendered to the mareschal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of Munster. And every hour brought to the States news of the rapid progress of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garrisons.

THE prince of Orange, with his small and discouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural strength of the country, since all human art and courage failed, to be able to make some

resistance. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies, and surrendered themselves to Lewis. Naarden, a place within three leagues of Amsterdam, was seized by the marquis of Rochfort, and had he pushed on to Muiden, he had easily gotten possession of it. Fourteen stragglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magistrates sent them the keys; but a servant-maid, who was alone in the castle, having raised the drawbridge, kept them from taking possession of that fortress. The magistrates afterwards, finding the party so weak, made them drunk, and took the keys from them. Muiden is so near to Amsterdam, that its cannon may infect the ships which enter that city.

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.

LEWIS with a splendid court made a solemn entry into Utrecht, full of glory, because every where attended with success; though more owing to the cowardice and misconduct of his enemies, than to his own valor or prudence. Three provinces were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht; Groningen was threatened; Friesland was exposed: The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper measures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to dismantle all the towns which he had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garrisons, put himself in a condition of pushing his conquests. Louvois, hoping that the other provinces weak and dismayed, would prove an easy prey, advised him to keep

25th June.

C H A P. possession of places, which might afterwards
 LXV. serve to retain the people in subjection. His
 1672. council was followed; though it was found, soon
 after, to have been the most impolitic.

Consterna-
 tion of the
 Dutch.

MEANWHILE the people, throughout the re-
 public, instead of collecting a noble indignation
 against the haughty conqueror, discharged their
 rage upon their own unhappy minister, on whose
 prudence and integrity every one formerly
 bestowed the merited applause. The bad condi-
 tion of the armies was laid to his charge: The
 ill choice of governors was ascribed to his par-
 tiality: As instances of cowardice multiplied,
 treachery was suspected; and his former connec-
 tions with France being remembered, the populace
 believed, that he and his partisans had now com-
 bined to betray them to their most mortal enemy.
 The prince of Orange, notwithstanding his
 youth and inexperience, was looked on as the
 only saviour of the state; and men were violently
 driven by their fears into his party, to which
 they had always been led by favor and incli-
 nation.

AMSTERDAM alone seemed to retain some
 courage; and by forming a regular plan of
 defence, endeavoured to infuse spirit into the
 other cities. The magistrates obliged the bur-
 gesses to keep a strict watch. The populace, whom
 want of employment might engage to mutiny,
 were maintained by regular pay, and armed for
 the defence of the public. Some ships, which
 lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and

stationed to guard the city: And the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water. All the province followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields, which with great art and expence had been won from it.

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

THE States were assembled, to consider, whether any means were left to save the remains of their lately flourishing, and now distressed Commonwealth. Though they were surrounded with waters, which barred all access to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone suggest measures, proper to extricate them from their present difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and sovereignty could be saved, every thing else should without scruple be sacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the same sentiments. Amsterdam singly declared against all treaty with insolent and triumphant enemies: But notwithstanding that opposition, ambassadors were dispatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was resolved to sacrifice to Lewis, Maestricht and all the frontier-towns, which lay without the bounds of the seven provinces, and to pay him a large sum for the charges of the war.

LEWIS deliberated with his ministers Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the measures which he should embrace in the present emergency; and

C H A P. fortunately for Europe, he still preferred the
 LXV. violent counsels of the former. He offered to
 1672. evacuate his conquests on condition, that all
 duties lately imposed on the commodities of
 France, should be taken off: That the public
 exercise of the Romish religion should be per-
 mitted in the United Provinces; the churches
 shared with the catholics; and their priests main-
 tained by appointments from the States: That all
 the frontier-towns of the republic should be
 yielded to him, together with Nimeguen, Skenk,
 Knotzenbourg, and that part of Guelderland
 which lay on the other side of the Rhine; as
 likewise the isle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the
 fortrefs of St. Andrew, those of Louvestein and
 Crevecœur: That the States should pay him the
 sum of twenty millions of livres for the charges
 of the war: That they should every year send
 him a solemn embassy, and present him with a
 golden medal, as an acknowledgment, that they
 owed to him the preservation of that liberty,
 which, by the assistance of his predecessors, they
 had formerly acquired: And that they should
 give entire satisfaction to the king of England:
 And he allowed them but ten days for the ac-
 ceptance of these demands.

THE ambassadors, sent to London, met with
 still worse reception: No minister was allowed to
 treat with them; and they were retained in a
 kind of confinement. But notwithstanding this
 rigorous conduct of the court, the presence of
 the Dutch ambassadors excited the sentiments of

tender compassion, and even indignation, among the people in general, especially among those who could foresee the aim and result of those dangerous counsels. The two most powerful monarchs, they said, in Europe, the one by land, the other by sea, have, contrary to the faith of solemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illustrious republic: What a dismal prospect does their success afford to the neighbours of the one, and to the subjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to restrain the power of France: A sure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance. He had courted and obtained the applauses of his people by that wise measure: As he now adopts contrary counsels, he must surely expect by their means to render himself independent of his people, whose sentiments are become so indifferent to him. During the entire submission of the nation, and dutiful behaviour of the parliament, dangerous projects, without provocation, are formed to reduce them to subjection; and all the foreign interests of the people are sacrificed, in order the more surely to bereave them of their domestic liberties. Lest any instance of freedom should remain within their view, the United Provinces, the real barrier of England, must be abandoned to the most dangerous enemy of England; and by a universal combination of tyranny against laws and liberty, all mankind, who have retained, in any degree, their precious, though

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.

C H A P. hitherto precarious, birthrights, are for ever to
 LXV. submit to slavery and injustice.

1672.

THOUGH the fear of giving umbrage to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambassadors with such rigor, he was not altogether without uneasiness, on account of the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he perceived, must become an accession to France; the Spanish Low Countries must soon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his interest to support him against his discontented subjects. Charles, though he never carried his attention to very distant consequences, could not but foresee these obvious events; and though incapable of envy or jealousy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while such vigorous resistance was made to his own. He soon dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, lest they should cabal among his subjects, who bore them great favor: But he sent over Buckingham and Arlington, and soon after lord Halifax, to negotiate a-new with the French king, in the present prosperous situation of that monarch's affairs.

THESE ministers passed through Holland; and as they were supposed to bring peace to the distressed republic, they were every where received with the loudest acclamations. "God
 " blefs the king of England! God blefs the prince
 " of Orange! Confusion to the States!" This

was every where the cry of the populace. The
 ambassadors had several conferences with the States
 and the prince of Orange; but made no reason-
 able advances towards an accommodation. They
 went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league
 with Lewis, and agreed, that neither of the
 kings should make peace with Holland but by
 common consent. They next gave in their pre-
 tensions, of which the following are the princi-
 pal articles: That the Dutch should give up the
 honor of the flag, without the least reserve or
 limitation; nor should whole fleets, even on the
 coast of Holland, refuse to strike or lower their
 topsails to the smallest ship, carrying the British
 flag: That all persons, guilty of treason against
 the king, or of writing seditious libels, should,
 on complaint, be banished for ever the dominions
 of the States: That the Dutch should pay the
 king a million sterling towards the charges of the
 war, together with ten thousand pounds a-year,
 for permission to fish on the British seas: That
 they should share the Indian trade with the
 English: That the prince of Orange and his de-
 scendants should enjoy the sovereignty of the
 United Provinces; at least, that they should be
 invested with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral
 and General, in as ample a manner as had ever
 been enjoyed by any of his ancestors: And that
 the isle of Walcheren, the city and castle of
 Sluis, together with the isles of Cadfant, Gorée,
 and Vorne, should be put into the king's hands,
 as a security for the performance of articles.

C H A P.
 LXV.
 1672.

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

30th June.

Prince of
Orange
Stadtholder.

THE terms proposed by Lewis bereaved the republic of all security against any invasion by land from France: Those demanded by Charles exposed them equally to an invasion by sea from England: And when both were united, they appeared absolutely intolerable, and reduced the Hollanders, who saw no means of defence, to the utmost despair. What extremely augmented their distress, were the violent factions, with which they continued to be every where agitated. De Wit, too pertinacious in defence of his own system of liberty, while the very being of the Commonwealth was threatened, still persevered in opposing the repeal of the perpetual edict, now become the object of horror to the Dutch populace. Their rage at last broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They rose in an insurrection at Dort, and by force constrained their burgomasters to sign the repeal, so much demanded. This proved a signal of a general revolt throughout all the provinces.

AT Amsterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and trampling under foot the authority of their magistrates, obliged them to submit to the prince of Orange. They expelled from their office such as displeased them: They required the prince to appoint others in their place: And agreeably to the proceedings of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their superiors, they expressed great indifference for the protection of their civil liberties.

THE superior talents and virtues of de Wit made him, on this occasion, the chief object of envy, and exposed him to the utmost rage of popular prejudice. Four assassins, actuated by no other motive than mistaken zeal, had assaulted him in the streets; and after giving him many wounds, had left him for dead. One of them was punished: The others were never questioned for the crime. His brother, Cornelius, who had behaved with prudence and courage on board the fleet; was obliged by sickness to come ashore; and he was now confined to his house at Dort. Some assassins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his family and servants could repel their violence. At Amsterdam, the house of the brave de Ruyter, the sole resource of the distressed commonwealth, was surrounded by the enraged populace; and his wife and children were for some time exposed to the most imminent danger.

ONE Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accused Cornelius de Wit of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the design of poisoning the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable and even absurd circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the same prejudices, or not daring to oppose the popular torrent, condemned him to suffer the question. This man, who had bravely served his country in war, and who had

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.

C H A P. been invested with the highest dignities, was de-
 LXV. livered into the hands of the executioner, and
 1672. torn in pieces by the most inhuman torments. Amidst the severe agonies which he endured, he still made protestations of his innocence, and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained sentiments suited to his deplorable condition:

Justum et tenacem propositi virum, &c.^{1°}.

THE judges, however, condemned him to lose his offices, and to be banished the commonwealth. The pensionary, who had not been

^{1°} Which may be thus translated.

The man, whose mind on virtue bent,
 Pursues some greatly good intent,
 With undiverted aim,
 Serene beholds the angry crowd;
 Nor can their clamors, fierce and loud,
 His stubborn honor tame.

Not the proud tyrant's fiercest threat,
 Nor storms, that from their dark retreat
 The lawless surges wake,
 Not Jove's dread bolt that shakes the pole,
 The firmer purpose of his soul
 With all its power can shake.

Shou'd Nature's frame in ruins fall,
 And chaos o'er the sinking ball
 Resume primæval sway,
 His courage chance and fate defies,
 Nor feels the wreck of earth and skies
 Obstruct its destin'd way. BLACKLOCKE.

terrified from performing the part of a kind brother, and faithful friend during this prosecution, resolved not to desert him on account of the unmerited infamy, which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his brother's prison, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace. They rose in arms: They broke open the doors of the prison; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thousand hands vied who should first be imbrued in their blood. Even their death did not satiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exercised on the dead bodies of those virtuous citizens, indignities too shocking to be recited; and till tired with their own fury, they permitted not the friends of the deceased to approach, or to bestow on them the honors of a funeral, silent and unattended.

THE massacre of the de Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expressing the most implicit obedience to the prince of Orange. The republic, though half subdued by foreign force, and as yet dismayed by its misfortunes, was now firmly united under one leader, and began to collect the remains of its pristine vigor. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he sprang, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He bent all his efforts against the public enemy: He fought not against his country any advantages, which might be dangerous to

C H A P.

LXV.

1672.

Massacre of
the de Wits.

Good conduct of the
prince.

C H A P. civil liberty. Those intolerable conditions, de-
 LXV. manded by their insolent enemies, he exhorted
 1672. the States to reject with scorn; and by his ad-
 vice they put an end to negotiations, which
 served only to break the courage of their fellow-
 citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies.
 He showed them, that the numbers and riches of
 the people, aided by the advantages of situation,
 would still be sufficient, if they abandoned not
 themselves to despair, to resist, at least retard,
 the progress of their enemies, and preserve the
 remaining provinces, till the other nations of
 Europe, sensible of the common danger, could
 come to their relief. He represented, that, as
 envy at their opulence and liberty had produced
 this mighty combination against them, they would
 in vain expect by concessions to satisfy foes,
 whose pretensions were as little bounded by
 moderation as by justice. He exhorted them to
 remember the generous valor of their ancestors,
 who, yet in the infancy of the state, preferred
 liberty to every human consideration; and rousing
 their spirits to an obstinate defence, repelled all
 the power, riches, and military discipline of
 Spain. And he professed himself willing to tread
 in the steps of his illustrious predecessors, and
 hoped, that, as they had honored him with the
 same affection, which their ancestors paid to the
 former princes of Orange, they would second
 his efforts with the same constancy and manly
 fortitude.

THE spirit of the young prince infused itself into his hearers. Those who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to subjection were now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend those last remains of their native soil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife; but flying to their settlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in those remote regions, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted measures for executing this extraordinary resolution; and found, that the vessels, contained in their harbours, could transport above two hundred thousand inhabitants to the East-Indies.

C H A P.
LXV.
1672.

THE combined princes, finding at last some appearance of opposition, bent all their efforts to seduce the prince of Orange, on whose valor and conduct the fate of the commonwealth entirely depended. The sovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him, and the protection of England and France, to insure him, as well against the invasion of foreign enemies, as the insurrection of his subjects. All proposals were generously rejected; and the prince declared his resolution to retire into Germany, and to pass his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country,

C H A P. or betray the trust reposed in him. When Buck-
 LXV. ingham urged the inevitable destruction which
 1672. hung over the United Provinces, and asked him,
 whether he did not see, that the commonwealth
 was ruined; *There is one certain means*, replied the
 prince, *by which I can be sure never to see my*
country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch.

THE people in Holland had been much incited
 to espouse the prince's party, by the hopes, that
 the king of England, pleased with his nephew's
 elevation, would abandon those dangerous engage-
 ments, into which he had entered, and would
 afford his protection to the distressed republic.
 But all these hopes were soon found to be falla-
 cious. Charles still persisted in his alliance with
 France; and the combined fleets approached the
 coast of Holland, with an English army on board,
 commanded by count Schomberg. It is pretended,
 that an unusual tide carried them off the coast;
 and that Providence thus interposed, in an ex-
 traordinary manner, to save the republic from
 the imminent danger, to which it was exposed.
 Very tempestuous weather, it is certain, prevailed
 all the rest of the season; and the combined fleets
 either were blown to a distance, or durst not
 approach a coast, which might prove fatal to
 them. Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered
 courage behind their inundations, and that no
 farther success was likely for the present to attend
 his arms, had retired to Versailles.

THE other nations of Europe regarded the
 subjection of Holland as the forerunner of their
 own

own slavery, and retained no hopes of defending themselves, should such a mighty accession be made to the already exorbitant power of France. The emperor, though he lay at a distance, and was naturally slow in his undertakings, began to put himself in motion; Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the States; Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and by the present efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groningen was the first place that stopped the progress of the enemy: The bishop of Munster was repulsed from before that town, and obliged to raise the siege with loss and dishonor. Naarden was attempted by the prince of Orange; but marshal Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a sudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterprise.

THERE was no ally, on whom the Dutch more relied for assistance, than the parliament of England, which the king's necessities at last obliged him to assemble. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed on this session, which met after prorogations continued for near two years. It was evident how much the king dreaded the assembling of his parliament; and the discontents, universally excited by the bold measures entered into, both in foreign and domestic administration, had given but too just foundation for his apprehensions.

THE king, however, in his speech, addressed them with all the appearance of cordiality and

C H A P.
LXV.

1673.
4th of Feb.
A parliament.

C H A P. confidence. He said, that he would have assembled
 LXV. them sooner, had he not been desirous to allow
 1673. them leisure for attending their private affairs, as
 well as to give his people respite from taxes and
 impositions: That since their last meeting, he had
 been forced into a war, not only just but necessary;
 necessary both for the honor and interest of the
 nation: That in order to have peace at home,
 while he had war abroad, he had issued his
 declaration of indulgence to dissenters, and had
 found many good effects to result from that
 measure: That he heard of some exceptions,
 which had been taken to this exercise of power;
 but he would tell them plainly, that he was re-
 solved to stick to his declaration, and would be
 much offended at any contradiction: And that
 though a rumor had been spread, as if the new
 levied army had been intended to controul law
 and property, he regarded that jealousy as so
 frivolous, that he was resolved to augment his
 forces next spring, and did not doubt but they
 would consider the necessity of them in their
 supplies. The rest of the business he left to the
 chancellor.

THE chancellor enlarged on the same topics,
 and added many extraordinary positions of his
 own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the
 common enemies of all monarchies, especially
 that of England, their only competitor for com-
 merce and naval power, and the sole obstacle to
 their views of attaining an universal empire, as
 extensive as that of ancient Rome: That, even

during their present distress and danger, they were so intoxicated with these ambitious projects, as to slight all treaty, nay, to refuse all cessation of hostilities: That the king, in entering on this war, did no more than prosecute those maxims, which had engaged the parliament to advise and approve of the last; and he might therefore safely say, that *it was their war*: That the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by interest and inclination, the parliament had wisely judged it necessary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda est Carthago*, this hostile government by all means is to be subverted: And that though the Dutch pretended to have assurances, that the parliament would furnish no supplies to the king, he was confident, that this hope, in which they extremely trusted, would soon fail them.

BEFORE the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king; and the measures, taken upon it, proved, that the house was not at present in a disposition to submit to them. It had been the constant undisputed practice, ever since the parliament in 1604, for the house, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; and the chancellor, who, before that time, had had some precedents in his favor, had ever afterwards abstained from all exercise of that authority. This indeed was one of the first steps, which the commons had taken in establishing and guarding

C H A P.

LXV.

1673.

C H A P. LXV. 1673. their privileges; and nothing could be more requisite than this precaution, in order to prevent the clandestine issuing of writs, and to ensure a fair and free election. No one but so desperate a minister as Shaftesbury, who had entered into a regular plan for reducing the people to subjection, could have entertained thoughts of breaking in upon a practice so reasonable and so well established, or could have hoped to succeed in so bold an enterprise. Several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; but the house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in the chair, than a motion was made against them; and the members themselves had the modesty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the usual form, were issued by the speaker.

THE next step taken by the commons had the appearance of some more complaisance; but in reality proceeded from the same spirit of liberty and independence. They entered a resolution, that, in order to supply his majesty's extraordinary occasions, for that was the expression employed, they would grant eighteen months assessment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the king, they would not express the least approbation of the war; and they gave him the prospect of this supply, only that they might have permission to proceed peaceably in the redress of the other grievances, of which they had such reason to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the secret views from which it proceeded, and the consequences which might attend it, than the declaration of indulgence. A remonstrance was immediately framed against that exercise of prerogative. The king defended his measure. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and they represented, that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses. All men were in expectation, with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. The king seemed engaged in honor to support his measure; and in order to prevent all opposition, he had positively declared that he would support it. The commons were obliged to persevere, not only because it was dishonorable to be foiled, where they could plead such strong reasons, but also because, if the king prevailed in his pretensions, an end seemed to be put to all the legal limitations of the constitution.

It is evident, that Charles was now come to that delicate crisis, which he ought at first to have foreseen, when he embraced those desperate counsels; and his resolutions, in such an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Besides his usual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath under the command of marechal Schomberg, a foreigner, and many of the officers were of the catholic religion.

C H A P.
LXV.
1673.

His ally, the French king, he might expect, would second him, if force became requisite for restraining his discontented subjects, and supporting the measures, which by common consent they had agreed to pursue. But the king was startled, when he approached so dangerous a precipice, as that which lay before him. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he saw, to mutual confidence and trust with his people; the perils attending foreign succours, especially from so mighty a prince, were sufficiently apparent; and the success, which his own arms had met with in the war, was not so great, as to increase his authority, or terrify the malecontents from opposition. The desire of power, likewise, which had engaged Charles in these precipitate measures, had less proceeded, we may observe, from ambition than from love of ease. Strict limitations of the constitution rendered the conduct of business complicated and troublesome; and it was impossible for him, without much contrivance and intrigue, to procure the money necessary for his pleasures, or even for the regular support of government. When the prospect, therefore, of such dangerous opposition presented itself, the same love of ease inclined him to retract what it seemed so difficult to maintain; and his turn of mind, naturally pliant and careless, made him find little objection to a measure, which a more haughty prince would have embraced with the utmost reluctance. That he might yield with the better grace, he asked the opinion of the

house of peers, who advised him to comply with the commons. Accordingly the king sent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the seals. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to his majesty. Charles assured them, that he would willingly pass any law, offered him, which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

C H A P.
LXV.
1673.
Declaration
of indul-
gence re-
called.

SHAFTESBURY, when he found the king recede at once from so capital a point, which he had publicly declared his resolution to maintain, concluded, that all schemes for enlarging royal authority were vanished, and that Charles was utterly incapable of pursuing such difficult and such hazardous measures. The parliament, he foresaw, might push their inquiries into those counsels, which were so generally odious; and the king, from the same facility of disposition, might abandon his ministers to their vengeance. He resolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party, which was likely to predominate, and to atone for all his violences in favor of monarchy, by like violences in opposition to it. Never turn was more sudden, or less calculated to save appearances. Immediately, he entered into all the cabals of the country-party; and discovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary designs of the court, in which he himself had borne so deep a share. He was received with open arms by that party, who stood in need of so able a leader; and no questions

C H A P. were asked with regard to his late apostacy.
 LXV. The various factions, into which the nation had
 1673. been divided, and the many sudden revolutions,
 to which the public had been exposed, had
 tended much to debauch the minds of men, and
 to destroy the sense of honor and decorum in
 their public conduct.

BUT the parliament, though satisfied with the
 king's compliance, had not lost all those apprehensions,
 to which the measures of the court had
 given so much foundation. A law passed for
 imposing a test on all who should enjoy any public
 office. Besides taking the oaths of allegiance and
 supremacy, and receiving the sacrament in the
 established church; they were obliged to abjure
 all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation.
 As the dissenters had seconded the efforts of the
 commons against the king's declaration of indulgence,
 and seemed resolute to accept of no toleration in an
 illegal manner, they had acquired great favor with
 the parliament; and a project was adopted to unite
 the whole protestant interest against the common
 enemy, who now began to appear formidable. A bill
 passed the commons for the ease and relief of the
 protestant nonconformists; but met with some
 difficulties, at least delays, in the house of peers.

THE resolution for supply was carried into a
 law; as a recompence to the king for his concessions.
 An act, likewise, of general pardon and indemnity
 was passed, which screened the ministers from all
 farther inquiry. The parliament

probably thought, that the best method of reclaiming the criminals was to show them, that their case was not desperate. Even the remonstrance, which the commons voted of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for the time, somewhat appeased. None of the capital points are there touched on; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, or the shutting up of the exchequer. The sole grievances mentioned are an arbitrary imposition on coals for providing convoys, the exercise of martial law, the quartering and pressing of soldiers; and they prayed, that, after the conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The king gave them a gracious, though an evasive answer. When business was finished, the two houses adjourned themselves.

C H A P.
LXV.
1673.

29th of
March.

THOUGH the king had receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquished the dispensing power, he was still resolved, notwithstanding his bad success both at home and abroad, to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and consequently in all those secret views, whatever they were, which depended on those fatal measures. The money, granted by parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral: For the duke was set aside by the test. Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince. A French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrées. The combined fleets set sail towards the coast of

C H A P.

LXV.

1673.

28th of
May.

Sea-fight.

Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the sands at Schonvelt. There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that accounts of those battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when delivered by writers of the hostile nations, who take pleasure in exalting the advantages of their own countrymen, and depressing those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle, is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the event was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week, they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, not more decisive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obstinacy on either side; but whether the Dutch or the allies first retired, seems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loss in the former of these actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the English, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own squadrons; and they thereby exposed them to all the fire of the enemy. There seems not to have been a ship lost on either side in the second engagement.

4th June.
Another
sea-fight.

It was sufficient glory to de Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and England, he could fight

them without any notable disadvantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a descent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the present circumstances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert was also suspected not to favor the king's projects for subduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from these motives he was thought not to have pressed so hard on the enemy, as his well-known valor gave reason to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, though the English with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. But they were disgusted at the present measures, which they deemed pernicious to their country; they were not satisfied in the justice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would, with much more pleasure, have destroyed than even the enemy themselves.

If prince Rupert was not favorable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favor from the court, at least from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every

C H A P.
LXV.
1673.

C H A P. thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even
 LXV. water; and he went into harbour, that he might
 1673. refit his ships, and supply their numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted, and he
 11th of August. again put to sea. The hostile fleets met at the
 Another sea-fight. mouth of the Texel, and fought the last battle, which, during the course of so many years, these neighbouring maritime powers have disputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him, Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: For the prince of Orange had reconciled these gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animosity, except that emulation, which made them exert themselves with more distinguished bravery against the enemies of their country. Brankert was opposed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is to be remarked, that in all actions these brave admirals last mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy each other's valor; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

D'ETRÉES and all the French squadron, except rear admiral Martel, kept at a distance; and Brankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more deserved honor: His conduct, as well as valor, shone out with signal lustre. Having disengaged his squadron

from the numerous enemies, with whom he was every where surrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear admiral, who had been separated from him, he made haste to the relief of Sprague, who was hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reason obliged to quit his ship, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these valorous rivals, and by the rear admirals, their seconds. Offory, rear admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Sprague was leaving her in order to hoist his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge; when a shot, which had passed through the St. George, took his boat, and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself, who bestowed on his valor the deserved praises.

PRINCE RUPERT found affairs in this dangerous situation, and saw most of the ships in Sprague's squadron disabled from fight. The engagement however was renewed, and became very close and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into disorder. To increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down; which if they had done, a decisive victory must have ensued. But the prince, when he saw that they neglected his

C H A P.
LXV.
1673.

C H A P. signal, and observed that most of his ships were
LXV. in no condition to keep the sea long, wisely
1673. provided for their safety by making easy sail towards the English coast. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all actions fought during the present war.

THE turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favorable. The prince of Orange besieged and took Naarden; and from this success gave his country reason to hope for still more prosperous enterprizes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialists on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the most artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and making a sudden march, sat down before Bonne. The prince of Orange's conduct was no less masterly; while he eluded all the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to that of the Imperialists. Bonne was taken in a few days: Several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies: And the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and to abandon all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had at first made them. The taking of Maestricht was the only advantage, which he gained this campaign.

Congress of
Cologne.

A CONGRESS was opened at Cologne under the mediation of Sweden; but with small hopes of success. The demands of the two kings were such as must have reduced the Hollanders to

perpetual servitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States rose, the kings sunk in their demands; but the States still sunk lower in their offers; and it was found impossible for the parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congress broke up; and the seizure of prince William of Furstenberg by the Imperialists afforded the French and English a good pretence for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambassadors in their memorials expressed all the haughtiness and disdain, so natural to a free state, which had met with such unmerited ill usage.

THE parliament of England was now assembled, and discovered much greater symptoms of ill humor, than had appeared in the last session. They had seen for some time a negociation of marriage carried on between the duke of York and the archdutchess of Inspruck, a catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that negociation failed, and the duke applied to a princess of the house of Modena, then in close alliance with France; this circumstance, joined to so many other grounds of discontent, raised the commons into a flame; and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The commons still insisted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it

C H A P.
LXV.
1673.

20th Oct.
A parliament.

C H A P. appeared, that the Dutch were so obstinate as to
 LXV. refuse all reasonable conditions of peace. To cut
 1673. short these disagreeable attacks, the king resolved
 4th Nov. to prorogue the parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher to summon the commons. It happened, that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, *To the chair, to the chair*; while others cried, *The black rod is at the door*. The speaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were instantly made: That the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employed. There was a general cry, *To the question, to the question*: But the usher knocking violently at the door, the speaker leaped from the chair, and the house rose in great confusion.

DURING the interval, Shaftesbury, whose intrigues with the malecontent party were now become notorious, was dismissed from the office of chancellor; and the great seal was given to sir Heneage Finch, by the title of lord keeper. The test had incapacitated Clifford; and the white staff was conferred on Sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created earl of Danby, a minister of abilities, who had risen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and soon after died.

THE

THE parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the duke leisure to finish his marriage; but the king's necessities soon obliged him again to assemble them; and by some popular acts he paved the way for the session. But all his efforts were in vain. The disgust of the commons was fixed in foundations too deep to be easily removed. They began with applications for a general fast, by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: They addressed against the king's guards, which they represented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, since they never had yet received the sanction of parliament: They took some steps towards establishing a new and more rigorous test against popery: And what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whose pernicious counsels they imputed all their present grievances. Clifford was dead: Shaftesbury had made his peace with the country-party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shaftesbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the house of commons for his impeachment: He desired to be heard at the bar; but expressed himself in so confused and ambiguous a manner, as gave little satisfaction. He was required to answer precisely to certain queries, which they proposed to him. These regarded all the articles of misconduct abovementioned; and among the rest, the following query seems remarkable. "By whose advice was the army

C H A P.
LXV.
1674.
7th Feb.

C H A P. LXV. 1674. “brought up to over-awe the debates and resolutions of the house of commons?” This shows to what length the suspicions of the house were at that time carried. Buckingham, in all his answers, endeavoured to exculpate himself, and to load Arlington. He succeeded not in the former intention: The commons voted an address for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the house, was attacked. Articles were drawn up against him; though the impeachment was never prosecuted.

THE king plainly saw, that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on a war, so odious to them. He resolved therefore to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. With a cordiality, which, in the present disposition on both sides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he asked advice of the parliament. The parliament unanimously concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condescension, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honor of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive terms: A regulation of trade was agreed to: All possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: The English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure: And the States agreed to pay to the king the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds. Four days after the parliament was

Peace with
Holland.

28th Feb.

prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared, that she could no longer remain neuter, if hostilities were continued against Holland; and a sensible decay of trade was foreseen, in case a rupture should ensue with that kingdom. The prospect of this loss contributed very much to increase the national aversion to the present war, and to enliven the joy for its conclusion.

THERE was in the French service a great body of English, to the number of ten thousand men, who had acquired honor in every action, and had greatly contributed to the successes of Lewis. These troops, Charles said, he was bound by treaty not to recal; but he obliged himself to the States by a secret article not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a strict execution of this engagement.

C H A P.
LXV.
1674.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1675.
Schemes of
the Cabal.

CHAP. LXVI.

Schemes of the cabal — Remonstrances of Sir William Temple — Campaign of 1674 — A Parliament — Passive obedience — A Parliament — Campaign of 1675 — Congress of Nimeguen — Campaign of 1676 — Uncertain conduct of the king — A Parliament — Campaign of 1677 — Parliament's distrust of the king — Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary — Plan of peace — Negotiations — Campaign of 1678 — Negotiations — Peace of Nimeguen — State of affairs in Scotland.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1674.

Schemes of
the Cabal.

IF we consider the projects of the famous Cabal, it will appear hard to determine, whether the end, which those ministers pursued, were more blamable and pernicious, or the means, by which they were to effect it, more impolitic and imprudent. Though they might talk only of recovering of fixing the king's authority; their intention could be no other than that of making him absolute: Since it was not possible to regain or maintain, in opposition to the people, any of those powers of the crown, abolished by late law or custom, without subduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative entirely uncontrollable. Against such a scheme, they might foresee, that every part of the nation would

declare themselves; not only the old parliamentary C H A P.
faction, which, though they kept not in a body, LXVI.
were still numerous; but even the greatest royal- 1674.
ists, who were indeed attached to monarchy,
but desired to see it limited and restrained by law.
It had appeared, that the present parliament,
though elected during the greatest prevalence of
the royal party, was yet tenacious of popular
privileges, and retained a considerable jealousy
of the crown, even before they had received any
just ground of suspicion. The guards, therefore,
together with a small army, new levied, and
undisciplined, and composed too of Englishmen,
were almost the only domestic resources, which
the king could depend on in the prosecution of
these dangerous counsels.

THE assistance of the French king was, no
doubt, deemed by the Cabal a considerable sup-
port in the schemes which they were forming;
but it is not easily conceived, that they could
imagine themselves capable of directing and em-
ploying an associate of so domineering a character.
They ought justly to have suspected, that it
would be the sole intention of Lewis, as it
evidently was his interest, to raise incurable
jealousies between the king and his people; and
that he saw how much a steady uniform govern-
ment in this island, whether free or absolute,
would form invincible barriers to his ambition.
Should his assistance be demanded; if he sent a
small supply, it would serve only to enrage the
people, and render the breach altogether irre-

§ H A P.
LXVI.
1674.

parable; if he furnished a great force, sufficient to subdue the nation, there was little reason to trust his generosity, with regard to the use, which he would make of this advantage.

IN all its other parts, the plan of the Cabal, it must be confessed, appears equally absurd and incongruous. If the war with Holland were attended with great success, and involved the subjection of the republic; such an accession of force must fall to Lewis, not to Charles: And what hopes afterwards of resisting by the greatest unanimity so mighty a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous to depend upon his assistance against domestic discontents? If the Dutch, by their own vigor, and the assistance of allies, were able to defend themselves, and could bring the war to an equality, the French arms would be so employed abroad, that no considerable reinforcement could thence be expected to second the king's enterprises in England. And might not the project of over-awing or subduing the people be esteemed, of itself, sufficiently odious, without the aggravation of sacrificing that State, which they regarded as their best ally, and with which, on many accounts, they were desirous of maintaining the greatest concord and strictest confederacy?

WHATEVER views likewise might be entertained of promoting by these measures the catholic religion; they could only tend to render all the other schemes abortive, and make them fall with inevitable ruin upon the projectors. The catholic

religion, indeed, where it is established, is better fitted than the protestant for supporting an absolute monarchy; but would any man have thought of it as the means of acquiring arbitrary authority in England, where it was more detested than even slavery itself?

C H A P.
LXVI.
1674.

It must be allowed, that the difficulties, and even inconsistencies, attending the schemes of the Cabal, are so numerous and obvious, that one feels at first an inclination to deny the reality of those schemes, and to suppose them entirely the chimeras of calumny and faction. But the utter impossibility of accounting, by any other hypothesis, for those strange measures embraced by the court, as well as for the numerous circumstances, which accompanied them, obliges us to acknowledge (though there remains no direct evidence of it ¹) that a formal plan was laid for

¹ Since the publication of this History, the Author has had occasion to see the most direct and positive evidence of this conspiracy. From the humanity and candor of the principal of the Scotch College at Paris, he was admitted to peruse James the Second's Memoirs, kept there. They amount to several volumes of small folio, all writ with that prince's own hand, and comprehending the remarkable incidents of his life from his early youth till near the time of his death. His account of the French alliance is as follows: The intention of the king and duke was chiefly to change the religion of England, which they deemed an easy undertaking, because of the great propensity, as they imagined, of the cavaliers and church party to popery: The treaty with Lewis was concluded at Versailles in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by Lord Arundel of

C H A P. changing the religion, and subverting the con-
 LXVI. stitution, of England, and that the king and the
 1674.

Wardour, whom no historian mentions as having had any hand in these transactions. The purport of it was, that Lewis was to give Charles 200,000 pounds a year in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to settle the catholic religion in England; and he was also to supply him with an army of 6000 men in case of any insurrection. When that work was finished, England was to join with France in making war upon Holland. In case of success, Lewis was to have the inland provinces, the prince of Orange Holland in sovereignty, and Charles, Sluis, the Brille, Walcheren, with the rest of the sea ports as far as Maastrand Sluis. The king's project was first to effect the change of religion in England; but the dutchess of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, persuaded him to begin with the Dutch war, contrary to the remonstrances of the duke of York, who insisted that Lewis, after serving his own purposes, would no longer trouble himself about England. The duke makes no mention of any design to render the king absolute; but that was, no doubt, implied in the other project, which was to be effected entirely by royal authority. The king was so zealous a papist, that he wept for joy when he saw the prospect of re-uniting his kingdom to the catholic church.

Sir John Dalrymple has since published some other curious particulars with regard to this treaty. We find, that it was concerted and signed with the privacy alone of four popish counsellors of the king's, Arlington, Arundel, Clifford and Sir Richard Bealing. The secret was kept from Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. In order to engage them to take part in it, a very refined and a very mean artifice was fallen upon by the king. After the secret conclusion and signature of the treaty, the king pretended to these three ministers that he wished to have a treaty and alliance with France for mutual support, and for a Dutch war; and when various pretended obstacles and dif-

ministry were in reality conspirators against the people. What is most probable in human affairs is not always true; and a very minute circumstance, overlooked in our speculations, serves often to explain events, which may seem the most surprising and unaccountable. Though the king possessed penetration and a sound judgment, his capacity was chiefly fitted for smaller matters², and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he application enough to carry his view to distant consequences, or to digest and adjust any plan

C H A P.
LXVI.
1674.

difficulties were surmounted, a sham-treaty was concluded with their consent and approbation, containing every article of the former real treaty, except that of the king's change of religion. However, there was virtually involved even in this treaty, the assuming of absolute government in England: For the support of French troops, and a war with Holland, so contrary to the interests and inclinations of his people, could mean nothing else. One cannot sufficiently admire the absolute want of common sense which appears throughout the whole of this criminal transaction. For if popery was so much the object of national horror, that even the king's three ministers, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, and such profligate ones too, either would not, or durst not receive it, what hopes could he entertain of forcing the nation into that communion? Considering the state of the kingdom, full of veteran and zealous soldiers, bred during the civil wars, it is probable that he had not kept the crown two months after a declaration so wild and extravagant. This was probably the reason why the king of France and the French ministers always dissuaded him from taking off the mask, till the successes of the Dutch war should render that measure prudent and practicable.

² Duke of Buckingham's character of K. Charles II.

CHAP. of political operations. As he scarcely ever
 LXVI. thought twice on any one subject, every ap-
 1674. pearance of advantage was apt to seduce him;
 and when he found his way obstructed by
 unlooked-for difficulties, he readily turned aside
 into the first path, where he expected more to
 gratify the natural indolence of his disposition.
 To this versatility or pliancy of genius, he him-
 self was inclined to trust; and he thought, that,
 after trying an experiment for enlarging his au-
 thority, and altering the national religion, he
 could easily, if it failed, return into the ordinary
 channel of government. But the suspicions of
 the people, though they burst not forth at once,
 were by this attempt rendered altogether in-
 curable; and the more they reflected on the
 circumstances, attending it, the more resentment
 and jealousy were they apt to entertain. They
 observed, that the king never had any favorite;
 that he was never governed by his ministers,
 scarcely even by his mistresses; and that he
 himself was the chief spring of all public counsels.
 Whatever appearance, therefore, of a change
 might be assumed, they still suspected, that the
 same project was secretly in agitation; and they
 deemed no precaution too great to secure them
 against the pernicious consequences of such mea-
 sures.

THE king, sensible of this jealousy, was in-
 clined thenceforth not to trust his people, of
 whom he had even before entertained a great
 diffidence; and though obliged to make a

separate peace, he still kept up connexions with the French monarch. He apologized for deserting his ally, by representing to him all the real undissembled difficulties, under which he labored; and Lewis, with the greatest complaisance and good humor, admitted the validity of his excuses. The duke likewise, conscious that his principles and conduct had rendered him still more obnoxious to the people, maintained on his own account a separate correspondence with the French court, and entered into particular connexions with Lewis, which these princes dignified with the name of friendship. The duke had only in view to secure his succession, and favor the catholics; and it must be acknowledged to his praise, that, though his schemes were, in some particulars, dangerous to the people, they gave the king no just ground of jealousy. A dutiful subject, and an affectionate brother, he knew no other rule of conduct than obedience; and the same unlimited submission, which afterwards, when king, he exacted of his people, he was ever willing, before he ascended the throne, to pay to his sovereign.

As the king was at peace with all the world, and almost the only prince in Europe placed in that agreeable situation, he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compose their differences. France, willing to negotiate under so favorable a mediator, readily accepted of Charles's offer; but, it was apprehended, that, for a like reason, the allies

C H A P.
LXVI.
1674.

C H A P. LXVI.
 1674.
 Remon-
 strances of
 Sir W.
 Temple.

would be inclined to refuse it. In order to give a sanction to his new measures, the king invited Temple from his retreat, and appointed him ambassador to the States. That wise minister, reflecting on the unhappy issue of his former undertakings, and the fatal turn of counsels, which had occasioned it, resolved, before he embarked a-new, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the real intentions of the king, in those popular measures, which he seemed again to have adopted. After blaming the dangerous schemes of the Cabal, which Charles was desirous to excuse, he told his majesty very plainly, that he would find it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to introduce into England the same system of government and religion, which was established in France: That the universal bent of the nation was against both; and it required ages to change the genius and sentiments of a people: That many, who were at bottom indifferent in matters of religion, would yet oppose all alterations on that head; because they considered, that nothing but force of arms could subdue the reluctance of the people against popery; after which, they knew, there could be no security for civil liberty: That in France every circumstance had long been adjusted to that system of government, and tended to its establishment and support: That the commonalty, being poor and dispirited, were of no account; the nobility, engaged by the prospect or possession of numerous offices, civil and military, were

entirely attached to the court; the ecclesiastics, retained by like motives, added the sanction of religion to the principles of civil policy: That in England a great part of the landed property belonged either to the yeomanry or middling gentry; the king had few offices to bestow; and could not himself even subsist, much less maintain an army, except by the voluntary supplies of his parliament: That if he had an army on foot, yet, if composed of Englishmen, they would never be prevailed on to promote ends, which the people so much feared and hated: That the Roman catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundredth; and it seemed against all common sense to hope, by one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of contrary sentiments and dispositions: And that foreign troops, if few, would tend only to inflame hatred and discontent; and how to raise and bring over at once, or to maintain many, it was very difficult to imagine. To these reasonings Temple added the authority of Gourville, a Frenchman, for whom, he knew, the king had entertained a great esteem. "A king of England," said Gourville, "who will be *the man of his people*, is the greatest king in the world: But if he will be any thing more, he is nothing at all." The king heard, at first, this discourse with some impatience; but being a dextrous dissembler, he seemed moved at last, and laying his hand on Temple's, said, with an appearing cordiality, "And I will be *the man of my people*."

C H A P.

LXVI.

1674.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1674.

TEMPLE, when he went abroad, soon found, that the scheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove abortive. The allies, besides their jealousy of the king's mediation, expressed a great ardor for the continuance of war. Holland had stipulated with Spain never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were restored to the condition, in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The emperor had high pretensions in Alsace; and as the greater part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped, that France, so much over-matched in force, would soon be obliged to submit to the terms demanded of her. The Dutch, indeed, oppressed by heavy taxes, as well as checked in their commerce, were desirous of peace; and had few or no claims of their own to retard it: But they could not in gratitude, or even in good policy, abandon allies, to whose protection they had so lately been indebted for their safety. The prince of Orange likewise, who had great influence in their councils, was all on fire for military fame, and was well pleased to be at the head of armies, from which such mighty successes were expected. Under various pretences, he eluded, during the whole campaign, the meeting with Temple; and after the troops were sent into winter-quarters, he told that minister, in his first audience, that, till greater impression were made on France, reasonable terms could not be hoped for; and it were therefore vain to negotiate.

THE success of the campaign had not answered expectation. The prince of Orange, with a superior army, was opposed in Flanders to the prince of Condé, and had hoped to penetrate into France by that quarter, where the frontier was then very feeble. After long endeavouring, though in vain, to bring Condé to a battle, he rashly exposed, at Seneffe, a wing of his army; and that active prince failed not at once to see and to seize the advantage. But this imprudence of the prince of Orange was amply compensated by his behaviour in that obstinate and bloody action which ensued. He rallied his dismayed troops; he led them to the charge; he pushed the veteran and martial troops of France; and he obliged the prince of Condé, notwithstanding his age and character, to exert greater efforts, and to risk his person more, than in any action, where, even during the heat of youth, he had ever commanded. After sun-set the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkness at last, not the weariness of the combatants, which put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. "The prince of Orange," said Condé, with candor and generosity, has acted in every thing like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a young foldier." Oudenarde was afterwards invested by the prince of Orange; but he was obliged by the Imperial and Spanish generals to raise the siege on the approach of the enemy. He afterwards besieged and took Grave; and at

C H A P.

LXVI.

1674.

Campaign
of 1674.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1674.

the beginning of winter, the allied armies broke up, with great discontents and complaints on all sides.

THE allies were not more successful in other places. Lewis in a few weeks reconquered Franche-comté. In Alsace, Turenne displayed, against a much superior enemy, all that military skill, which had long rendered him the most renowned captain of his age and nation. By a sudden and forced march, he attacked and beat at Sintzheim, the duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, general of the Imperialists. Seventy thousand Germans poured into Alsace, and took up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had retired into Lorraine, returned unexpectedly upon them. He attacked and defeated a body of the enemy at Mulhausen. He chased from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the German troops. He gained a new advantage at Turkheim. And having dislodged all the allies, he obliged them to repass the Rhine, full of shame for their multiplied defeats, and still more, of anger and complaints against each other.

IN England, all these events were considered by the people with great anxiety and concern; though the king and his ministers affected great indifference with regard to them. Considerable alterations were about this time made in the English ministry. Buckingham was dismissed, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humor, possessed the king's favor. Arlington, now chamberlain, and Danby the treasurer, possessed

possessed chiefly the king's confidence. Great hatred and jealousy took place between these ministers; and public affairs were somewhat disturbed by their quarrels. But Danby daily gained ground with his master. And Arlington declined in the same proportion. Danby was a frugal minister; and by his application and industry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured so to conduct himself as to give offence to no party; and the consequence was, that he was able entirely to please none. He was a declared enemy to the French alliance; but never possessed authority enough to overcome the prepossessions, which the king and the duke retained towards it. It must be ascribed to the prevalence of that interest, aided by money remitted from Paris, that the parliament was assembled so late this year; lest they should attempt to engage the king in measures against France, during the ensuing campaign. They met not till the approach of summer³.

C H A P.
LXVI.

1675.
13th April.

EVERY step, taken by the commons, discovered that ill humor and jealousy, to which the late open measures of the king, and his present secret attachments gave but too just foundation. They drew up a new bill against popery, and resolved to insert in it many severe clauses for

A parlia-
ment.

³ This year, on the 25th of March, died Henry Cromwel, second son of the protector, in the 47th year of his age. He had lived unmolested in a private station, ever since the king's restoration, which he rather favored than opposed.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1675.

the detection and prosecution of priests: They presented addresses a second time against Lauderdale; and when the king's answer was not satisfactory, they seemed still determined to persevere in their applications: An accusation was moved against Danby; but upon examining the several articles, it was not found to contain any just reasons of a prosecution; and was therefore dropped: They applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French service; and as he only promised, that they should not be recruited, they appeared to be much dissatisfied with the answer: A bill was brought in, making it treason to levy money without authority of parliament: Another vacating the seats of such members as accepted of offices: Another to secure the personal liberty of the subject, and to prevent sending any person prisoner beyond sea.

Passive obedience.

THAT the court-party might not be idle, during these attacks, a bill for a new test was introduced into the house of peers by the earl of Lindsey. All members of either house, and all who possessed any office, were by this bill required to swear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those who were commissioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the protestant religion, or of the established government either in church or state.

GREAT opposition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the present disposition of the nation. During seventeen days, the debates were carried on with much zeal; and all the reason and learning of both parties were displayed on the occasion. The question, indeed, with regard to resistance, was a point, which entered into the controversies of the old parties, cavalier and roundhead; as it made an essential part of the present disputes between court and country. Few neuters were found in the nation: But among such as could maintain a calm indifference, there prevailed sentiments wide of those which were adopted by either party. Such persons thought, that all general, speculative declarations of the legislature, either for or against resistance, were equally impolitic, and could serve to no other purpose, than to signalize in their turn the triumph of one faction over another: That the simplicity retained in the ancient laws of England, as well as in the laws of every other country, ought still to be preserved, and was best calculated to prevent the extremes on either side: That the absolute exclusion of resistance, in all possible cases, was founded on *false* principles; its express admission might be attended with *dangerous* consequences; and there was no necessity for exposing the public to either inconvenience: That if a choice must necessarily be made in the case, the preference of utility to truth in public institutions was apparent; nor could the supposition of resistance, beforehand and in general terms, be safely

C H A P.
LXVI.
1679.

C H A P. admitted in any government : That even in mixt
 LXVI. monarchies, where that supposition seemed most
 1675. requisite, it was yet entirely superfluous, since
 no man, on the approach of extraordinary necessity, could be at a loss, though not directed by legal declarations, to find the proper remedy : That even those who might, at a distance, and by scholastic reasoning, exclude all resistance, would yet hearken to the voice of nature; when evident ruin, both to themselves and to the public, must attend a strict adherence to their pretended principles : That the question, as it ought thus to be entirely excluded from all determinations of the legislature, was, even among private reasoners, somewhat frivolous, and little better than a dispute of words : That the one party could not pretend, that resistance ought ever to become a familiar practice; the other would surely have recourse to it in great extremities : And thus the difference could only turn on the degrees of danger or oppression, which would warrant this irregular remedy; a difference, which, in a general question, it was impossible, by any language, precisely to fix or determine.

THERE were many other absurdities in this test, particularly that of binding men by oath not to alter the government either in church or state; since all human institutions are liable to abuse, and require continual amendments, which are, in reality, so many alterations. It is not indeed possible to make a law, which does not innovate, more or less, in the government. These diffi-

culties produced such obstructions to the bill, C H A P.
LXVI.
1675.
that it was carried only by two voices in the house of peers. All the popish lords, headed by the earl of Bristol, voted against it. It was sent down to the house of commons, where it was likely to undergo a scrutiny still more severe.

BUT a quarrel, which ensued between the two houses, prevented the passing of every bill, projected during the present session. One Dr. Shirley, being cast in a lawsuit before chancery against Sir John Fag, a member of the house of commons, preferred a petition of appeal to the house of peers. The Lords received it, and summoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower house, who espoused his cause. They not only maintained, that no member of their house could be summoned before the peers: They also asserted, that the upper house could receive no appeals from any court of equity; a pretension, which extremely retrenched the jurisdiction of the peers, and which was contrary to the practice that had prevailed during this whole century. The commons send Shirley to prison; the lords assert their powers. Conferences are tried; but no accommodation ensues. Four lawyers are sent to the Tower by the commons, for transgressing the orders of the house, and pleading in this cause before the peers. The peers denominate this arbitrary commitment a breach of the great charter, and order the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners: He declines obedience:

C H A P. LXVI.
1675. They apply to the king, and desire him to punish the lieutenant for his contempt. The king summons both houses; exhorts them to unanimity; and informs them, that the present quarrel had arisen from the contrivance of his and their enemies, who expected by that means to force a dissolution of the parliament. His advice has no effect: The commons continue as violent as ever; and the king, finding that no business could be finished, at last prorogued the parliament.

8th June.

13th Oct.
A parliament.

WHEN the parliament was again assembled, there appeared not in any respect a change in the dispositions of either house. The king desired supplies, as well for the building of ships as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even confessed, that he had not been altogether so frugal as he might have been, and as he resolved to be for the future; though he asserted, that, to his great satisfaction, he had found his expenses by no means so exorbitant as some had represented them. The commons took into consideration the subject of supply. They voted 300,000 pounds for the building of ships; but they appropriated the sum by very strict clauses. They passed a resolution not to grant any supply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue^{*}. This vote was carried in a full

^{*} Several historians have affirmed, that the commons found, this session, upon inquiry, that the king's revenue was 1,600,000 pounds a year, and that the necessary expense was but 700,000 pounds; and have appealed to the Journals for a proof. But there is not the least appearance of this in the Journals; and the fact is impossible.

house, by a majority of four only: So nearly
 were the parties balanced. The quarrel was
 revived, to which Dr. Shirley's cause had given
 occasion. The proceedings of the commons
 discovered the same violence as during the last
 session. A motion was made in the house of peers,
 but rejected, for addressing the king to dissolve
 the present parliament. The king contented
 himself with proroguing them to a very long
 term. Whether these quarrels between the houses
 arose from contrivance or accident was not
 certainly known. Each party might, according
 to their different views, esteem themselves either
 gainers or losers by them. The court might
 desire to obstruct all attacks from the commons,
 by giving them other employment. The country
 party might desire the dissolution of a parliament,
 which, notwithstanding all disgusts, still contained
 too many royalists, ever to serve all the purposes
 of the malecontents.

SOON after the prorogation, there passed an
 incident, which in itself is trivial, but tends
 strongly to mark the genius of the English govern-
 ment, and of Charles's administration, during
 this period. The liberty of the constitution, and
 the variety as well as violence of the parties, had
 begotten a propensity for political conversation;
 and as the coffee-houses in particular were the
 scenes, where the conduct of the king and the
 ministry was canvassed with great freedom, a
 proclamation was issued to suppress these places
 of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during

C H A P.
 LXVI.
 1675.

22d Nov.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1679.

former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the accession of the house of Stuart, no scruple would have been entertained with regard to that exercise of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to arise upon his proclamation, had recourse to the judges, who supplied him with a chicane, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might justify his proceedings. The law, which settled the excise, enacted, that licences for retailing liquors might be refused to such as could not find security for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor subjected to excise; and even this power of refusing licences was very limited, and could not reasonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The king, therefore, observing the people to be much dissatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promised for the future to restrain all seditious discourse in their houses; and the proclamation was recalled.

Campaign
of 1679.

THIS campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during the whole war. The French took the field in Flanders with a numerous army; and Lewis himself served as a volunteer under the prince of Condé. But notwithstanding his great preparations, he could gain no advantages but the taking of Huy and Limbourg, places of small consequence. The prince of Orange with a considerable army opposed him in all his motions; and neither side was willing, without a visible advantage, to hazard a general action, which might be attended either with the

entire loss of Flanders on the one hand, or the invasion of France on the other. Lewis, tired of so unactive a campaign, returned to Versailles; and the whole summer passed in the Low Countries without any memorable event.

TURENNE commanded on the Upper Rhine, in opposition to his great rival, Montecuculi, general of the Imperialists. The object of the latter was to pass the Rhine, to penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy, and to fix his quarters in these provinces: The aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to disappoint all the schemes of his enemy. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides; and if any superiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was chiefly ascribed to his greater vigor of body, by which he was enabled to inspect all the posts in person, and could on the spot take the justest measures for the execution of his designs. By posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuculi from passing that river: He had also laid his plan in so masterly a manner, that, in a few days he must have obliged the Germans to decamp, and have gained a considerable advantage over them; when a period was put to his life, by a random shot, which struck him on the breast as he was taking a view of the enemy. The consternation of his army was inexpressible. The French troops, who, a moment before, were assured of victory, now considered themselves as entirely vanquished; and the Germans, who would have been glad to

C H A P.
LXVI.
1675.

C H A P. compound for a safe retreat, expected no less
 LXVI. than the total destruction of their enemy. But
 1675. de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, succeeded him
 in the command, and possessed a great share of
 the genius and capacity of his predecessor. By his
 skilful operations, the French were enabled to
 repass the Rhine, without considerable loss; and
 this retreat was deemed equally glorious with the
 greatest victory. The valor of the English troops,
 who were placed in the rear, greatly contributed
 to save the French army. They had been seized
 with the same passion as the native troops of
 France, for their brave general, and fought with
 ardor to revenge his death on the Germans. The
 duke of Marlborough, then captain Churchill,
 here learned the rudiments of that art, which
 he afterwards practised with such fatal success
 against France.

THE prince of Condé left the army in Flanders
 under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying
 with him a considerable reinforcement, succeeded
 to Turenne's command. He defended Alsace from
 the Germans, who had passed the Rhine, and
 invaded that province. He obliged them first to
 raise the siege of Hagenau, then that of Saverne.
 He eluded all their attempts to bring him to a
 battle. And having dexterously prevented them
 from establishing themselves in Alsace, he forced
 them, notwithstanding their superiority of num-
 bers, to repass the Rhine, and to take up winter
 quarters in their own country.

AFTER the death of Turenne, a detachment

of the German army was sent to the siege of Treves: An enterprize, in which the Imperialists, the Spaniards, the Palatine, the duke of Lorraine, and many other princes passionately concurred. The project was well concerted, and executed with vigor. Marechal Crequi, on the other hand, collected an army, and advanced with a view of forcing the Germans to raise the siege. They left a detachment to guard their lines, and under the command of the dukes of Zell and Osnaburgh, marched in quest of the enemy. At Confarbric, they fell unexpectedly, and with superior numbers, on Crequi, and put him to rout. He escaped with four attendants only; and throwing himself into Treves, resolved, by a vigorous defence, to make atonement for his former error or misfortune. The garrison was brave, but not abandoned to that total despair, by which their governor was actuated. They mutinied against his obstinacy; capitulated for themselves; and because he refused to sign the capitulation, they delivered him a prisoner into the hands of the enemy.

It is remarkable, that this defeat, given to Crequi, is almost the only one, which the French received at land, from Rocroi to Blenheim, during the course of above sixty years; and these too, full of bloody wars against potent and martial enemies: Their victories almost equal the number of years during that period. Such was the vigor and good conduct of that monarchy! And such too were the resources and refined policy of the other European nations, by which they were

C H A P.
LXVI.
1675.

C H A P. enabled to repair their losses, and still to confine
 LXVI. that mighty power nearly within its ancient
 1675. limits! A fifth part of these victories would have
 sufficed, in another period, to have given to
 France the empire of Europe.

THE Swedes had been engaged, by the payment
 of large subsidies, to take part with Lewis, and
 invade the territories of the elector of Branden-
 burgh in Pomerania. That elector, joined by some
 Imperialists from Silesia, fell upon them with
 bravery and success. He soon obliged them to
 evacuate his part of that country, and he pursued
 them into their own. He had an interview with
 the king of Denmark, who had now joined the
 confederates, and resolved to declare war against
 Sweden. These princes concerted measures for
 pushing the victory.

TO all these misfortunes against foreign enemies
 were added some domestic insurrections of the
 common people in Guienne and Brittany. Though
 soon suppressed, they divided the force and atten-
 tion of Lewis. The only advantage, gained by
 the French, was at sea. Messina in Sicily had
 revolted; and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne
 was dispatched to support the rebels. The Dutch
 had sent a squadron to assist the Spaniards. A
 battle ensued, where de Ruyter was killed. This
 event alone was thought equivalent to a victory.

THE French, who, twelve years before, had
 scarcely a ship of war in any of their harbours,
 had raised themselves, by means of perseverance
 and policy, to be, in their present force, though

not in their resources, the first maritime power in Europe. The Dutch, while in alliance with them against England, had supplied them with several vessels, and had taught them the rudiments of the difficult art of ship-building. The English next, when in alliance with them against Holland, instructed them in the method of fighting their ships, and of preserving order in naval engagements. Lewis availed himself of every opportunity to aggrandize his people, while Charles, sunk in indolence and pleasure, neglected all the noble arts of government; or, if at any time he roused himself from his lethargy, that industry, by reason of the unhappy projects which he embraced, was often more pernicious to the public than his inactivity itself. He was as anxious to promote the naval power of France, as if the safety of his crown had depended on it; and many of the plans executed in that kingdom, were first, it is said^s, digested and corrected by him.

THE successes of the allies had been considerable the last campaign; but the Spaniards and Imperialists well knew, that France was not yet sufficiently broken, nor willing to submit to the terms which they resolved to impose upon her. Though they could not refuse the king's mediation, and Nimeguen, after many difficulties, was at last fixed on as the place of congress; yet under one pretence or other, they still delayed sending their ambassadors, and no progress was

C H A P.
LXVI.

1676.

Congress of
Nimeguen.

^s Welwood, Burnet, Coke.

C H A P. made in the negociation. Lord Berkeley, Sir
 LXVI. William Temple, and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were
 1676. the English ministers at Nimeguen. The Dutch,
 who were impatient for peace, soon appeared :
 Lewis, who hoped to divide the allies, and
 who knew, that he himself could neither be se-
 duced nor forced into a disadvantageous peace,
 sent ambassadors: The Swedes, who hoped to
 recover by treaty what they had lost by arms,
 were also forward to negotiate. But as these
 powers could not proceed of themselves to settle
 terms, the congress, hitherto, served merely as an
 amusement to the public.

Campaign
 of 1676.

It was by the events of the campaign, not
 the conferences among the negociators, that the
 articles of peace were to be determined. The
 Spanish towns, ill fortified and worse defended,
 made but a feeble resistance to Lewis; who, by
 laying up magazines during the winter, was able
 to take the field early in the spring, before the
 forage could be found in the open country. In
 the month of April he laid siege to Condé, and
 took it by storm in four days. Having sent the
 duke of Orleans to besiege Bouchaine, a small
 but important fortress, he posted himself so ad-
 vantageously with his main army, as to hinder
 the confederates from relieving it, or fighting
 without disadvantage. The prince of Orange,
 in spite of the difficulties of the season, and the
 want of provisions, came in sight of the French
 army; but his industry served to no other pur-
 pose than to render him spectator of the surrender

of Bouchaine. Both armies stood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action, which might be attended with the most important consequences. Lewis, though he wanted not personal courage, was little enterprising in the field; and being resolved this campaign to rest contented with the advantages which he had so early obtained, he thought proper to intrust his army to mareschal Schomberg, and retired himself to Versailles. After his departure, the prince of Orange laid siege to Maestricht; but meeting with an obstinate resistance, he was obliged, on the approach of Schomberg, who in the mean time had taken Aire, to raise the siege. He was incapable of yielding to adversity, or bending under misfortunes: But he began to foresee, that, by the negligence and errors of his allies, the war in Flanders must necessarily have a very unfortunate issue.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1676.

ON the Upper Rhine, Philipsbourg was taken by the Imperialists. In Pomerania, the Swedes were so unsuccessful against the Danes and Brandenburgers, that they seemed to be losing apace all those possessions, which, with so much valor and good fortune, they had acquired in Germany.

ABOUT the beginning of winter, the congress of Nimeguen was pretty full, and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Spain, two powers strictly conjoined by blood and alliance, at last appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they absented themselves any longer, to proceed to a separate treaty with France. In the conferences

C H A P. and negociations, the dispositions of the parties
 LXVI. became every day more apparent.

1677.

THE Hollanders, loaded with debts, and harassed with taxes, were desirous of putting an end to a war; in which, besides the disadvantages attending all leagues, the weakness of the Spaniards, the divisions and delays of the Germans, prognosticated nothing but disgrace and misfortune. Their commerce languished; and what gave them still greater anxiety, the commerce of England, by reason of her neutrality, flourished extremely; and they were apprehensive, lest advantages, once lost, would never thoroughly be regained. They had themselves no farther motive for continuing the war, than to secure a good frontier to Flanders; but gratitude to their allies still engaged them to try, whether another campaign might procure a peace, which would give general satisfaction. The prince of Orange, urged by motives of honor, of ambition, and of animosity against France, endeavoured to keep them steady to this resolution.

THE Spaniards, not to mention the other incurable weaknesses, into which their monarchy was fallen, were distracted with domestic dissensions between the parties of the queen regent and Don John, natural brother to their young sovereign. Though unable of themselves to defend Flanders, they were resolute not to conclude a peace, which would leave it exposed to every assault or inroad; and while they made the most magnificent promises to the States, their real
 trust

trust was in the protection of England. They saw, that, if that small but important territory were once subdued by France, the Hollanders, exposed to so terrible a power, would fall into dependence, and would endeavour, by submissions, to ward off that destruction, to which a war in the heart of their state must necessarily expose them. They believed, that Lewis, sensible how much greater advantages he might reap from the alliance than from the subjection of the republic, which must scatter its people, and depress its commerce, would be satisfied with very moderate conditions, and would turn his enterprises against his other neighbours. They thought it impossible but the people and parliament of England, foreseeing these obvious consequences, must at last force the king to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their interests were so deeply concerned. And they trusted, that even the king himself, on the approach of so great a danger, must open his eyes, and sacrifice his prejudices, in favor of France, to the safety of his own dominions.

BUT Charles here found himself entangled in such opposite motives and engagements, as he had not resolution enough to break, or patience to unravel. On the one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as a sure resource in case of any commotions among his own subjects; and whatever schemes he might still retain for enlarging his authority, or altering the established religion, it was from that quarter alone

C H A P.
LXVI.
1677.

Uncertain
conduct of
the king.

C H A P. he could expect assistance. He had actually in
 LXVI. secret sold his neutrality to France, and he re-
 1677. ceived remittances of a million of livres a-year,
 which was afterwards increased to two millions;
 a considerable supply in the present embarrassed
 state of his revenue. And he dreaded, lest the
 parliament should treat him as they had formerly
 done his father; and after they had engaged him
 in a war on the continent, should take advantage
 of his necessities, and make him purchase supplies
 by sacrificing his prerogative, and abandoning
 his ministers.

ON the other hand, the cries of his people and
 parliament; seconded by Danby, Arlington, and
 most of his ministers, incited him to take part
 with the allies, and to correct the unequal ba-
 lance of power in Europe. He might apprehend
 danger from opposing such earnest desires: He
 might hope for large supplies if he concurred
 with them: And however inglorious and indolent
 his disposition, the renown of acting as arbiter
 of Europe, would probably at intervals rouse
 him from his lethargy, and move him to support
 the high character, with which he stood invested.

IT is worthy of observation, that, during this
 period, the king was, by every one, abroad and
 at home, by France and by the allies, allowed
 to be the undisputed arbiter of Europe; and no
 terms of peace, which he would have prescribed,
 could have been refused by either party. Though
 France afterwards found means to resist the same
 alliance, joined with England; yet was she then

obliged to make such violent efforts as quite exhausted her; and it was the utmost necessity, which pushed her to find resources, far surpassing her own expectations. Charles was sensible, that, so long as the war continued abroad, he should never enjoy ease at home, from the impatience and importunity of his subjects; yet could he not resolve to impose a peace by openly joining himself with either party. Terms advantageous to the allies must lose him the friendship of France: The contrary would enrage his parliament. Between these views, he perpetually fluctuated; and from his conduct, it is observable, that a careless, remiss disposition, agitated by opposite motives, is capable of as great inconsistencies as are incident even to the greatest imbecillity and folly.

THE parliament was assembled; and the king made them a plausible speech, in which he warned them against all differences among themselves; expressed a resolution to do his part for bringing their consultations to a happy issue; and offered his consent to any laws for the farther security of their religion, liberty, and property. He then told them of the decayed condition of the navy; and asked money for repairing it: He informed them, that part of his revenue, the additional excise, was soon to expire: And he added these words, "You may at any time see
" the yearly established expense of the govern-
" ment, by which it will appear, that, the con-
" stant and unavoidable charge being paid, there

C H A P.
LXVI.
1677.

15th Feb.
A parlia-
ment.

C H A P. " will remain no overplus towards answering
 LXVI. " those contingences, which may happen in all
 1677. " kingdoms, and which have been a considerable
 " burthen on me this last year. "

BEFORE the parliament entered upon business, they were stopped by a doubt, concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward III. " That parliaments
 " should be held once every year, or oftener, if
 " need be. " The last prorogation had been longer than a year; and being supposed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a dissolution. The consequence seems by no means just; and besides, a later act, that which repealed the triennial law, had determined, that it was necessary to hold parliaments only once in three years. Such weight, however, was put on this cavil, that Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, insisted strenuously in the house of peers on the invalidity of the parliament, and the nullity of all its future acts. For such dangerous positions, they were sent to the Tower, there to remain during the pleasure of his majesty and the house. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton made submissions, and were soon after released. But Shaftesbury, more obstinate in his temper, and desirous of distinguishing himself by his adherence to liberty, fought the remedy of law; and being rejected by the judges, he was at last, after a twelve-month's imprisonment, obliged to make the same submissions; upon which he was also released.

THE commons at first seemed to proceed with temper. They granted the sum of 586,000 pounds, for building thirty ships; though they strictly appropriated the money to that service. Estimates were given in of the expense; but it was afterwards found that they fell short near 100,000 pounds. They also voted, agreeably to the king's request, the continuance of the additional excise for three years. This excise had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and an easy session.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1677.

BUT the parliament was roused from this tranquillity by the news received from abroad. The French king had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid siege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by storm. He next invested both Cambray and St. Omers. The prince of Orange, alarmed with his progress, hastily assembled an army, and marched to the relief of St. Omers. He was encountered by the French, under the duke of Orleans and marechal Luxembourg. The prince possessed great talents for war; courage, activity, vigilance, patience; but still he was inferior in genius to those consummate generals, opposed to him by Lewis; and though he always found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against the victors, he was, during his whole life, unsuccessful. By a masterly movement of Luxembourg, he was here defeated, and obliged to retreat to Ypres. Cambray and St. Omers were soon after surrendered to Lewis.

Campaign
of 1677.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1677.

THIS success, derived from such great power and such wise conduct, infused a just terror into the English parliament. They addressed the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France; and praying, that his majesty, by such alliances as he should think fit, would both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king, desirous of eluding this application, which he considered as a kind of attack on his measures, replied in general terms, that he would use all means for the preservation of Flanders, consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdoms. This answer was an evasion, or rather a denial. The commons, therefore, thought proper to be more explicit. They entreated him not to defer the entering into such alliances as might attain that great end: And in case war with the French king should be the result of his measures, they promised to grant him all the aids and supplies, which would enable him to support the honor and interest of the nation. The king was also more explicit in his reply. He told them, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their security. This message was understood to be a demand of money. The parliament accordingly empowered the king to borrow on the additional excise 200,000 pounds at seven per cent: A very small sum, indeed; but which they deemed sufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a

good squadron, and thereby put the nation in security, till farther resolutions should be taken.

BUT this concession fell far short of the king's expectations. He therefore informed them, that, unless they granted him the sum of 600,000 pounds upon new funds, it would not be possible for him, without exposing the nation to manifest danger, *to speak or act those things*, which would answer the end of their several addresses. The house took this message into consideration: But before they came to any resolution, the king sent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a king, that they should not repent any trust, which they would repose in him for the safety of his kingdom; that he would not for any consideration break credit with them, or employ their money to other uses, than those for which they intended it; but that he would not hazard, either his own safety or theirs, by taking any vigorous measures, or forming new alliances, till he were in a better condition both to defend his subjects, and offend his enemies. This speech brought affairs to a short issue. The king required them to trust him with a large sum: He pawned his royal word for their security: They must either run the risk of losing their money, or fail of those alliances which they had projected, and at the same time declare to all the world the highest distrust of their sovereign.

BUT there were many reasons which determined the house of commons to put no trust in the king. They considered, that the pretence of

C H A P.

LXVI.

1677.

Parliament's distrust of the king.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1677.

danger was obviously groundless; while the French were opposed by such powerful alliances on the continent, while the king was master of a good fleet at sea, and while all his subjects were so heartily united in opposition to foreign enemies. That the only justifiable reason, therefore, of Charles's backwardness, was not the apprehension of danger from abroad, but a diffidence, which he might perhaps have entertained of his parliament; lest, after engaging him in foreign alliances for carrying on war, they should take advantage of his necessities, and extort from him concessions dangerous to his royal dignity. That this parliament, by their past conduct, had given no foundation for such suspicions, and were so far from pursuing any sinister ends, that they had granted supplies for the first Dutch war; for maintaining the triple league, though concluded without their advice; for even carrying on the second Dutch war, which was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the manifest interests of the nation. That on the other hand, the king had, by former measures, excited very reasonable jealousies in his people, and did with a bad grace require at present their trust and confidence. That he had not scrupled to demand supplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting measures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpose the supplies, which he had obtained by those delusive pretences. That his union with France, during

the war against Holland, must have been founded on projects the most dangerous to his people; and as the same union was still secretly maintained, it might justly be feared, that the same projects were not yet entirely abandoned. That he could not seriously intend to prosecute vigorous measures against France; since he had so long remained entirely unconcerned during such obvious dangers; and, till prompted by his parliament, whose proper business it was not to take the lead in those parts of administration, had suspended all his activity. That if he really meant to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the first step, and have endeavoured, by putting trust in them, to restore that confidence, which he himself, by his rash conduct, had first violated. That it was in vain to ask so small a sum as 600,000 pounds, in order to secure him against the future attempts of the parliament; since that sum must soon be exhausted by a war with France, and he must again fall into that dependence, which was become, in some degree, essential to the constitution. That if he would form the necessary alliances, that sum, or a greater, would instantly be voted; nor could there be any reason to dread, that the parliament would immediately desert measures, in which they were engaged by their honor, their inclination, and the public interest. That the real ground, therefore, of the king's refusal was neither apprehension of danger from foreign enemies, nor jealousy of parliamentary encroach-

C H A P.

LXVI.

1677.

C H A P. LXVI. 1677. ments; but a desire of obtaining the money, which he intended, notwithstanding his royal word, to employ to other purposes. And that by using such dishonorable means to so ignoble an end, he rendered himself still more unworthy the confidence of his people.

THE house of commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Some were enlisted in the court-party by offices, nay, a few by bribes secretly given them; a practice first begun, by Clifford, a dangerous minister: But great numbers were attached merely by inclination; so far as they esteemed the measures of the court agreeable to the interests of the nation. Private views and faction had likewise drawn several into the country-party: But there were also many of that party, who had no other object than the public good. These disinterested members on both sides fluctuated between the factions; and gave the superiority sometimes to the court, sometimes to the opposition*. In the present emergency, a general distrust of the king prevailed; and the parliament resolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which, they believed, were never intended to be formed. Instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein they “ besought his majesty to enter into
“ a league, offensive and defensive, with the
“ States General of the United Provinces, against

* Temple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 458.

“ the growth and power of the French king, C H A P.
 “ and for the preservation of the Spanish Nether- LXVI.
 “ lands; and to make such other alliances with 16.7.
 “ the confederates as should appear fit and useful
 “ to that end.” They supported their advice
 with reasons; and promised speedy and effectual
 supplies, for preserving his majesty’s honor and
 ensuring the safety of the public. The king pre-
 tended the highest anger at this address, which
 he represented as a dangerous encroachment upon
 his prerogative. He reproved the commons in
 severe terms; and ordered them immediately to
 be adjourned.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment, 8th May.
 when the king both might with ease have pre-
 served the balance of power in Europe, which
 it has since cost this island a great expense of
 blood and treasure to restore, and might by
 perseverance have at last regained, in some toler-
 able measure, after all past errors, the confidence
 of his people. This opportunity being neglected,
 the wound became incurable; and notwithstand-
 ing *his* momentary appearances of vigor against
 France and popery, and *their* momentary inclina-
 tions to rely on his faith: *he* was still believed
 to be at bottom engaged in the same interests,
 and *they* soon relapsed into distrust and jealousy.
 The secret memoirs of this reign, which have
 since been published⁷, prove beyond a doubt,

⁷ Such as the letters, which passed betwixt Danby and
 Montague, the king’s ambassador at Paris; Temple’s Me-

C H A P. LXVI. 1677. that the king had at this time concerted measures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favor of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, even when he pawned his ROYAL WORD to his people, than to procure a grant of money, and he trusted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct.

NEGOCIATIONS meanwhile were carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were adjusted, provided they could afterwards satisfy their allies on both sides. This work, though in appearance difficult, seemed to be extremely forwarded, by farther bad successes on the part of the confederates, and by the great impatience of the Hollanders; when a new event happened, which promised a more prosperous issue to the quarrel with France, and revived the hopes of all the English, who understood the interests of their country.

moirs, and his Letters. In these last, we see that the king never made any proposals of terms but what were advantageous to France, and the prince of Orange believed them to have always been concerted with the French ambassador. Vol. i. p. 439.

In Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 103, it appears, that the king had signed himself, without the participation of his ministers, a secret treaty with France, and had obtained a pension on the promise of his neutrality: A fact, which renders his *royal word*, solemnly given to his subjects, one of the most dishonorable and most scandalous acts, that ever proceeded from a throne.

THE king saw, with regret, the violent discontents, which prevailed in the nation, and which seemed every day to augment upon him. Desirous by his natural temper to be easy himself, and to make every body else easy, he sought expedients to appease those murmurs, which, as they were very disagreeable for the present, might in their consequences prove extremely dangerous. He knew, that, during the late war with Holland, the malecontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued still to neglect the prince's interests, and to thwart the inclinations of his own people, he apprehended lest their common complaints should cement a lasting union between them. He saw, that the religion of the duke inspired the nation with dismal apprehensions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princesses to be educated in the protestant faith, something farther, he thought, was necessary, in order to satisfy the nation. He entertained, therefore, proposals for marrying the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, the elder princess, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had no male issue), and he hoped, by so tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his interests. A peace he purposed to make; such as would satisfy France, and still preserve his connexions with that crown: And he intended to sanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and respected throughout Europe. All the reasons

C H A P.

LXVI.

1677.

NO 1101

C H A P.
LXVI.
1677.

10th Oct.

for this alliance were seconded by the solicitations of Danby, and also of Temple, who was at that time in England: And Charles at last granted permission to the prince, when the campaign should be over, to pay him a visit.

THE king very graciously received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon business; but the prince desired first to be acquainted with the lady Mary: And he declared, that, contrary to the usual sentiments of persons of his rank, he placed a great part of happiness in domestic satisfaction, and would not, upon any consideration of interest or politics, match himself with a person disagreeable to him. He was introduced to the princess, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her person and her behaviour. The king now thought, that he had a double tie upon him, and might safely expect his compliance with every proposal: He was surprised to find the prince decline all discourse of business, and refuse to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage should be finished. He foresaw, he said, from the situation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expose himself to the reproach of having sacrificed their interests to promote his own purposes. Charles still believed, notwithstanding the cold, severe manner of the prince, that he would abate of this rigid punctilio of honor; and he protracted the time, hoping, by his own insinuation and address,

as well as by the allurements of love and ambition, to win him to compliance. One day, Temple found the prince in very bad humor, repenting that he had ever come to England, and resolute in a few days to leave it: But before he went, the king, he said, must chuse the terms, on which they should hereafter live together: He was sure it must be like the greatest friends or the greatest enemies: And he desired Temple to inform his master next morning of these intentions. Charles was struck with this menace, and foresaw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He resolved, therefore, immediately to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's honesty, he told Temple, that the marriage was concluded, and desired him to inform the duke of it, as of an affair already resolved on. The duke seemed surpris'd; but yielded a prompt obedience: Which, he said, was his constant maxim to whatever he found to be the king's pleasure. No measure during this reign gave such general satisfaction. All parties strove who should most applaud it. And even Arlington, who had been kept out of the secret, told the prince, "That some things good in themselves, " were spoiled by the manner of doing them, " as some things bad were mended by it; but " he would confess, that this was a thing so " good in itself, that the manner of doing it " could not spoil it."

THIS marriage was a great surprise to Lewis, who, accustomed to govern every thing in the

C H A P.

LXVI.

1677.

23d Octob.

Marriage of
the prince of
Orange with
the lady
Mary.

C H A P. English court, now found so important a step
LXVI. taken, not only without his consent, but without
1677. his knowledge or participation. A conjunction
 of England with the allies, and a vigorous war
 in opposition to French ambition, were the
 consequences immediately expected, both abroad
 and at home: But to check these sanguine hopes,
 the king, a few days after the marriage, prolonged
 the adjournment of the parliament from the
 third of December to the fourth of April. This
 term was too late for granting supplies, or making
 preparations for war; and could be chosen
 by the king for no other reason, than as an
 atonement to France for his consent to the marriage.
 It appears also that Charles secretly received
 from Lewis the sum of two millions of livres on
 account of this important service*.

Plan of
 peace.

THE king, however, entered into consultations
 with the prince, together with Danby and
 Temple, concerning the terms which it would
 be proper to require of France. After some
 debate, it was agreed, that France should restore
 Lorraine to the duke; with Tournay, Valenciennes,
 Condé, Ath, Charleroy, Courtray, Oudenarde, and
 Binche to Spain, in order to form a good frontier
 for the Low Countries. The prince insisted that
 Franche-comté should likewise be restored; and
 Charles thought, that, because he had patrimonial
 estates of great value in that province, and
 deemed his property more secure in the hands

* Sir John Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 112.

of Spain, he was engaged by such views to be obstinate in that point: But the prince declared, that to procure but one good town to the Spaniards in Flanders, he would willingly relinquish all those possessions. As the king still insisted on the impossibility of wresting Franche-comté from Lewis, the prince was obliged to acquiesce.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1677.

NOTWITHSTANDING this concession to France, the projected peace was favorable to the allies; and it was a sufficient indication of vigor in the king, that he had given his assent to it. He farther agreed to send over a minister instantly to Paris, in order to propose these terms. This minister was to enter into no treaty: He was to allow but two days for the acceptance or refusal of the terms: Upon the expiration of these, he was presently to return: And in case of refusal, the king promised to enter immediately into the confederacy. To carry so imperious a message, and so little expected from the English court, Temple was the person pitched on, whose declared aversion to the French interest was not likely to make him fail of vigor and promptitude in the execution of his commission.

BUT Charles next day felt a relenting in this assumed vigor. Instead of Temple he dispatched the earl of Feversham, a creature of the duke's, and a Frenchman by birth: and he said, that the message being harsh in itself, it was needless to aggravate it by a disagreeable messenger. The prince left London; and the king, at his departure, assured him, that he never would abate

C H A P. in the least point of the scheme concerted,
 LXVI. and would enter into war with Lewis, if he
 1677 rejected it.

Negocia-
 tions.

LEWIS received the message with seeming gentleness and complacency. He told Feverham, that the king of England well knew, that he might always be master of the peace; but some of the towns in Flanders, it seemed very hard to demand, especially Tournay, upon whose fortifications such immense sums had been expended: He would therefore take some short time to consider of an answer. Feverham said, that he was limited to two days stay: But when that time was elapsed, he was prevailed on to remain some few days longer; and he came away at last without any positive answer. Lewis said, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: And with regard to them too, he would send orders to his ambassador at London to treat with the king himself. Charles was softened by the softness of France; and the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambassador, Barillon, owned at last, that he had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about some equivalent for that fortress, if the king absolutely insisted upon it. The prince was gone, who had given spirit to the English court; and the negociation began to draw out into messages and returns from Paris.

By intervals, however, the king could rouse himself, and show still some firmness and resolution. Finding that affairs were not likely to come to

any conclusion with France, he summoned, notwithstanding the long adjournment, the parliament on the fifteenth of January; an unusual measure, and capable of giving alarm to the French court. Temple was sent for to the council, and the king told him, that he intended he should go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the states; and that the purpose of it should be, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept of the terms proposed. Temple was sorry to find this act of vigor qualified by such a regard to France, and by such an appearance of indifference and neutrality between the parties. He told the king, that the resolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France: That this measure would satisfy the prince, the allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from such an alliance with Holland alone: That France would be disobliged, and Spain likewise; nor would the Dutch be satisfied with such a faint imitation of the triple league, a measure concerted when they were equally at peace with both parties. For these reasons, Temple declined the employment; and Lawrence Hyde, second son of chancellor Clarendon, was sent in his place.

THE Prince of Orange could not regard without contempt such symptoms of weakness and vigor conjoined in the English counsels. He was resolved, however, to make the best of a

C H A P.
LXVI.

1673.

C H A P. LXVI. 1678. 6th Jan. measure, which he did not approve ; and as Spain secretly consented , that her ally should form a league , which was seemingly directed against her as well as France , but which was to fall only on the latter , the States concluded the treaty in the terms proposed by the king.

28th Jan. MEANWHILE , the English parliament met , after some new adjournments ; and the king was astonished , that , notwithstanding the resolute measures , which , he thought , he had taken , great distrust and jealousy and discontent were apt , at intervals , still to prevail among the members. Though in his speech he had allowed , that a good peace could no longer be expected from negociation , and assured them , that he was resolved to enter into a war for that purpose ; the commons did not forbear to insert in their reply several harsh and even unreasonable clauses. Upon his reproving them , they seemed penitent , and voted , that they would assist his majesty in the prosecution of the war. A fleet of ninety sail , an army of thirty thousand men , and a million of money were also voted. Great difficulties were made by the commons with regard to the army , which the house , judging by past measures , believed to be intended more against the liberties of England than against the progress of the French Monarch. To this perilous situation had the king reduced both himself and the nation. In all debates , severe speeches were made , and were received with seeming approbation : The duke and the treasurer began to be apprehensive of impeachments :

Many motions against the king's ministers were lost by a small majority : The commons appointed a day to consider the state of the kingdom with regard to popery : And they even went so far as to vote, that, how urgent soever the occasion, they would lay no farther charge on the people, till secured against the prevalence of the catholic party. In short, the parliament was impatient for war whenever the king seemed averse to it; but grew suspicious of some sinister design as soon as he complied with their requests, and seemed to enter into their measures.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1678,

THE king was enraged at this last vote : He reproached Temple with his popular notions, as he termed them; and asked him how he thought the house of commons could be trusted for carrying on the war, should it be entered on, when in the very commencement they made such declarations. The uncertainties indeed of Charles's conduct were so multiplied, and the jealousies on both sides so incurable, that even those, who approached nearest the scene of action, could not determine, whether the king ever seriously meant to enter into a war, or whether, if he did, the house of commons would not have taken advantage of his necessities, and made him purchase supplies by a great sacrifice of his authority².

THE king of France knew how to avail himself of all the advantages, which these distractions afforded him. By his emissaries, he represented

² Temple, vol. i. p. 461.

C H A P. to the Dutch, the imprudence of their depending
 LXVI. on England; where an indolent king, averse to
 1678. all war, especially with France, and irresolute
 in his measures, was actuated only by the uncertain
 breath of a factious parliament. To the aristocratical
 party, he remarked the danger of the prince's alliance
 with the royal family of England, and revived their
 apprehensions; lest, in imitation of his father, who
 had been honored with the same alliance, he should
 violently attempt to enlarge his authority, and enslave
 his native country. In order to enforce these motives
 with farther terrors, he himself took the field very
 early in the spring; and after threatening Luxembourg,
 Mons, and Namur, he suddenly sat down before
 Ghent and Ypres, and in a few weeks made himself
 master of both places. This success gave great alarm
 to the Hollanders, who were nowise satisfied with
 the conduct of England, or with the ambiguous treaty
 lately concluded; and it quickened all their advances
 towards an accommodation.

Campaign
 of 1678.

IMMEDIATELY after the parliament had voted the supply, the king began to enlist forces; and such was the ardor of the English for a war with France, that an army of above 20,000 men, to the astonishment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks. Three thousand men under the duke of Monmouth, were sent over to secure Ostend: Some regiments were recalled from the French service: A fleet was fitted out with great diligence: And a quadruple alliance was projected

between England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor. C H A P. LXVI.

BUT these vigorous measures received a sudden damp from a passionate address of the lower house; in which they justified all their past proceedings, that had given disgust to the king; desired to be acquainted with the measures taken by him; prayed him to dismiss evil counsellors; and named in particular the duke of Lauderdale, on whose removal they strenuously insisted. The king told them, that their address was so extravagant, that he was not willing speedily to give it the answer, which it deserved. And he began again to lend an ear to the proposals of Lewis, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to France's making an advantageous peace with the allies. 1678.

TEMPLE, though pressed by the king, refused to have any concern in so dishonorable a negotiation: But he informs us, that the king said, there was one article proposed, which so incensed him, that, as long as he lived, he should never forget it. Sir William goes no farther; but the editor of his works, the famous Dr. Swift, says, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the king should engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in Great Britain¹⁰. Charles broke

Negotiations.

¹⁰ To wit, 3000 men for Scotland, and the usual guards and garrisons in England, amounting to near 5000 men. Sir J. Dalrymple's App. p. 161.

C H A P. into a passion. “Cod’s-fish,” said he, his usual
 LXVI. oath, “does my brother of France think to serve
 1678. “me thus? Are all his promises to make me
 “absolute master of my people come to this?
 “Or does he think *that* a thing to be done with
 “eight thousand men?”

VAN BEVERNING was the Dutch ambassador at Nimeguen, a man of great authority with the States. He was eager for peace, and was persuaded, that the reluctance of the king and the jealousies of the parliament would for ever disappoint the allies in their hopes of succour from England. Orders were sent him by the States to go to the French king at Ghent, and to concert the terms of a general treaty, as well as procure a present truce for six weeks. The terms agreed on were much worse for the Spaniards, than those which had been planned by the king and the prince of Orange. Six towns, some of them of no great importance, were to be restored to them: But Ypres, Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournay, in which consisted the chief strength of their frontier, were to remain with France.

GREAT murmurs arose in England when it was known, that Flanders was to be left in so defenceless a condition. The chief complaints were levelled against the king, who, by his concurrence at first, by his favor afterwards, and by his delays at last, had raised the power of France to such an enormous height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneasy under these imputations, dreading the con-

sequence of losing the affections of his subjects, and perhaps disgusted with the secret article proposed by France, began to wish heartily for war, which, he hoped, would have restored him to his ancient popularity.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1678.

AN opportunity unexpectedly offered itself for his displaying these new dispositions. While the ministers at Nimeguen were concerting the terms of a general treaty, the marquis de Balbaces, the Spanish ambassador, asked the ambassadors of France, at what time France intended to restore the six towns in Flanders. They made no difficulty in declaring, that the king, their master, being obliged to see an entire restitution made to the Swedes of all they had lost in the war, could not evacuate these towns till that crown had received satisfaction; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the powers of the north to accept of the peace.

THE States immediately gave the king intelligence of a pretension, which might be attended with such dangerous consequences. The king was both surpris'd and angry. He immediately dispatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous measures for opposing France. Temple in six days concluded a treaty, by which Lewis was obliged to declare within sixteen days after the date, that he would presently evacuate the towns: And in case of his refusal, Holland was bound to continue the war, and England to declare immediately against France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

16th July.

C H A P. ALL these warlike measures were so ill seconded
 LXVI. by the parliament, where even the French ministers
 1678. were suspected, with reason¹¹, of carrying on

¹¹ Sir John Dalrymple, in his Appendix, has given us, from Barillon's dispatches in the Secretary's office at Paris, a more particular detail of these intrigues. They were carried on with lord Ruffel, lord Hollis, lord Berkshire, the duke of Buckingham, Algernon Sydney, Montague, Bulstrode, col. Titus, sir Edward Harley, sir John Baber, sir Roger Hill, Boscawen, Littleton, Powle, Harbord, Hambden, sir Thomas Armstrong, Hotham, Herbert, and some others of less note. Of these, lord Ruffel and lord Hollis alone refused to touch any French money: All the others received presents or bribes from Barillon. But we are to remark, that the party-views of these men, and their well-founded jealousies of the king and duke, engaged them, independently of the money, into the same measures that were suggested to them by the French ambassador. The intrigues of France, therefore, with the parliament were a mighty small engine in the political machine. Those with the king, which have always been known, were of infinitely greater consequence. The sums distributed to all these men, excepting Montague, did not exceed 16,000 pounds in three years; and therefore could have little weight in the two houses, especially when opposed to the influence of the crown. Accordingly we find, in all Barillon's dispatches, a great anxiety that the parliament should never be assembled. The conduct of these English patriots was more mean than criminal; and monsieur Courten says, that two hundred thousand livres employed by the Spaniards and Germans, would have more influence than two millions distributed by France. See Sir J. Dalrymple's App. p. 111. It is amusing to observe the general, and I may say national, rage excited by the late discovery of this secret negociation; chiefly on account of Algernon Sydney, whom the blind prejudices of party had exalted into a hero. His ingratitude and breach of faith, in applying for the

some intrigues, that the commons renewed their former jealousies against the king, and voted the army immediately to be disbanded. The king by a message represented the danger of disarming before peace were finally concluded; and he recommended to their consideration, whether he could honorably recal his forces from those towns in Flanders, which were put under his protection, and which had at present no other means of defence. The commons agreed to prolong the term with regard to these forces. Every thing indeed in Europe bore the appearance of war. France had positively declared, that she would not evacuate the six towns before the requisite cession was made to Sweden; and her honor seemed now engaged to support that declaration. Spain and the Empire disgusted with the terms of peace imposed by Holland, saw with pleasure the prospect of a powerful support from the new resolutions of Charles. Holland itself, encouraged by the prince of Orange and his party, was not displeased to find, that the war would be renewed on more equal terms. The allied army under that prince was approaching towards Mons, then blockaded

C H A P.

LXVI.

1678.

king's pardon, and immediately on his return entering into cabals for rebellion, form a conduct much more criminal than the taking of French gold: Yet the former circumstance was always known, and always disregarded. But every thing connected with France is supposed, in England, to be polluted beyond all possibility of expiation. Even lord Ruffel, whose conduct in this negociation was only factious, and that in an ordinary degree, is imagined to be dishonored by the same discovery.

C H A P. by France. A considerable body of English
 LXVI. under the duke of Monmouth, was ready to
 1678. join him.

CHARLES usually passed a great part of his time in the women's apartments, particularly those of the dutchess of Portsmouth; where, among other gay company, he often met with Barillon, the French ambassador, a man of polite conversation, who was admitted into all the amusements of that inglorious, but agreeable monarch. It was the charms of this sauntering, easy life, which, during his later years, attached Charles to his mistresses. By the insinuations of Barillon and the dutchess of Portsmouth, an order was, in an unguarded hour, procured, which instantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One du Cros, a French fugitive monk, was sent to Temple, directing him to apply to the Swedish ambassador, and persuade him not to insist on the conditions required by France, but to sacrifice to general peace those interests of Sweden. Du Cros, who had secretly received instructions from Barillon, published every where in Holland the commission with which he was intrusted; and all men took the alarm. It was concluded, that Charles's sudden alacrity for war was as suddenly extinguished, and that no steady measures could ever be taken with England. The king afterwards, when he saw Temple, treated this important matter in raillery; and said laughing, that the rogue du Cros had outwitted them all.

THE negotiations however at Nimeguen still

continued; and the French ambassadors spun out the time, till the morning of the critical day, which, by the late treaty between England and Holland, was to determine, whether a sudden peace or a long war were to have place in Christendom. The French ambassadors came then to Van Beverning, and told him, that they had received orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns, and immediately to conclude and sign the peace. Van Beverning might have refused compliance, because it was now impossible to procure the consent and concurrence of Spain; but he had entertained so just an idea of the fluctuations in the English counsels, and was so much alarmed by the late commission given to du Cros, that he deemed it fortunate for the republic to finish on any terms a dangerous war, where they were likely to be very ill supported. The papers were instantly drawn, and signed by the ministers of France and Holland between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. By this treaty, France secured the possession of Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omers, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Cassel, &c. and restored to Spain only Charleroy, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limbourg.

NEXT day Temple received an express from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, together with orders immediately to proceed to the exchange of them. Charles was now returned to his former inclinations for war with France.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1678.

1st August.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1678.

VAN BEVERNING was loudly exclaimed against by the ambassadors of the allies at Nimeguen, especially those of Brandenburg and Denmark, whose masters were obliged by the treaty to restore all their acquisitions. The ministers of Spain and the emperor were fullen and disgusted; and all men hoped, that the States, importuned and encouraged by continual sollicitations from England, would disavow their ambassador, and renew the war. The prince of Orange even took an extraordinary step, in order to engage them to that measure; or perhaps to give vent to his own spleen and resentment. The day after signing the peace at Nimeguen, he attacked the French army at St. Dennis near Mons; and gained some advantage over Luxembourg, who rested secure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war to be finished. The prince knew, at least had reason to believe, that the peace was signed, though it had not been formally notified to him; and he here sacrificed wantonly, without a proper motive, the lives of many brave men on both sides, who fell in this sharp and well contested action.

HYDE was sent over with a view of persuading the States to disavow Van Beverning; and the king promised, that England, if she might depend on Holland, would immediately declare war, and would pursue it, till France were reduced to reasonable conditions. Charles at present went farther than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his army for Flanders; and all his prepa-

rations wore a hostile appearance. But the States had been too often deceived to trust him any longer. They ratified the treaty signed at Nimeguen; and all the other powers of Europe were at last, after much clamor and many disgusts, obliged to accept of the terms prescribed to them.

LEWIS had now reached the height of that glory, which ambition can afford. His ministers and negociators appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A successful war had been carried on against an alliance, composed of the greatest potentates in Europe. Considerable conquests had been made, and his territories enlarged on every side. An advantageous peace was at last concluded, where he had given the law. The allies were so enraged against each other, that they were not likely to cement soon in any new confederacy. And thus he had, during some years, a real prospect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of exceeding the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of ancient Rome. Had England continued much longer in the same condition, and under the same government, it is not easy to conceive, that he could have failed of his purpose.

IN proportion as these circumstances exalted the French, they excited indignation among the English, whose animosity, roused by terror, mounted to a great height against that rival nation. Instead of taking the lead in the affairs of

C H A P.
LXVI.
1678.

Peace of
Nimeguen.

C H A P. Europe, Charles, they thought, had, contrary
LXVI. to his own honor and interest, acted a part en-
1678. tirely subservient to the common enemy; and in
all his measures had either no project at all, or
such as was highly criminal and dangerous. While
Spain, Holland, the emperor, the princes of
Germany called aloud on England to lead them
to victory and to liberty, and conspired to raise
her to a station more glorious than she had ever
before attained; her king, from mean pecuniary
motives, had secretly sold his alliance to Lewis,
and was bribed into an interest contrary to that
of his people. His active schemes in conjunction
with France were highly pernicious; his neutrality
was equally ignominious; and the jealous, re-
fractory behaviour of the parliament, though in
itself dangerous, was the only remedy for so
many greater ills, with which the public, from
the misguided counsels of the king, was so nearly
threatened. Such were the dispositions of men's
minds at the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen:
And these dispositions naturally prepared the way
for the events which followed.

State of
affairs in
Scotland.

WE must now return to the affairs of Scotland,
which we left in some disorder, after the sup-
pression of the insurrection in 1666. The king,
who at that time endeavoured to render himself
popular in England, adopted like measures in
Scotland; and he intrusted the government into
the hands chiefly of Tweddale, and Sir Robert
Murray, men of prudence and moderation. These
ministers made it their principal object to compose
the

the religious differences, which ran high, and for which scarcely any modern nation but the Dutch, had as yet found the proper remedy. As rigor and restraint had failed of success in Scotland, a scheme of *comprehension* was tried; by which it was intended to diminish greatly the authority of bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedence among the presbyters. But the presbyterian zealots entertained great jealousy against this scheme. They remembered, that, by such gradual steps, king James had endeavoured to introduce episcopacy. Should the ears and eyes of men be once reconciled to the name and habit of bishops, the whole power of the function, they dreaded, would soon follow: The least communication with unlawful and antichristian institutions they esteemed dangerous and criminal: *Touch not, taste not, handle not*; this cry went out amongst them: And the king's ministers at last perceived, that they should prostitute the dignity of government, by making advances, to which the malecontents were determined not to correspond.

THE next project adopted was that of *indulgence*. In prosecution of this scheme, the most popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of submission to the established religion, were settled in vacant churches; and small salaries of about twenty pounds a-year were offered to the rest, till they should otherwise be provided for. These last refused the king's bounty, which

C H A P. they considered as the wages of a criminal silence.

LXVI. Even the former soon repented their compliance.

1678.

The people, who had been accustomed to hear them rail against their superiors, and preach to the times, as they termed it, deemed their sermons languid and spiritless, when deprived of these ornaments. Their usual gifts, they thought, had left them, on account of their submission, which was stigmatized as erastianism. They gave them the appellation, not of ministers of Christ, but of *the king's curates*; as the clergy of the established church were commonly denominated the *bishop's curates*. The preachers themselves returned in a little time to their former practices, by which they hoped to regain their former dominion over the minds of men. The conventicles multiplied daily in the west: The clergy of the established church were insulted: The laws were neglected: The covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worship: And though they usually dispersed themselves after divine service, yet the government took a just alarm at seeing men, who were so entirely governed by their seditious teachers, dare to set authority at defiance, and during a time of full peace, to put themselves in a military posture.

THERE was here, it is apparent, in the political body, a disease dangerous and inveterate; and the government had tried every remedy, but the true one, to allay and correct it. An unlimited *toleration*, after sects have diffused themselves and are strongly rooted, is the only expedient, which

can allay their fervor, and make the civil union acquire a superiority above religious distinctions. But as the operations of this regimen are commonly gradual, and at first imperceptible, vulgar politicians are apt, for that reason, to have recourse to more hasty and more dangerous remedies. It is observable too, that these non-conformists in Scotland neither offered nor demanded toleration; but laid claim to an entire superiority, and to the exercise of extreme rigor against their adversaries. The covenant, which they idolized, was a persecuting, as well as a seditious band of confederacy; and the government, instead of treating them like madmen, who should be soothed, and flattered, and deceived into tranquillity, thought themselves entitled to a rigid obedience, and were too apt, from a mistaken policy, to retaliate upon the dissenters, who had erred from the spirit of enthusiasm.

AMIDST these disturbances, a new parliament was assembled at Edinburgh¹²; and Lauderdale was sent down commissioner. The zealous presbyterians, who were the chief patrons of liberty, were too obnoxious to resist, with any success, the measures of government, and in parliament the tide still ran strongly in favor of monarchy. The commissioner had such influence as to get two acts passed, which were of great consequence to the ecclesiastical and civil liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the

¹² 19th of October, 1669.

C H A P. settling of all things with regard to the external
 LXVI. government of the church was a right of the
 1678. crown: That whatever related to ecclesiastical
 meetings, matters, and persons, was to be ordered,
 according to such directions as the king should
 send to his privy council: And that these, being
 published by them, should have the force of
 laws. The other act regarded the militia, which
 the king by his own authority had two years
 before established, instead of the army which was
 disbanded. By this act, the militia was settled,
 to the number of 22,000 men, who were to be
 constantly armed, and regularly disciplined. And
 it was farther enacted, that these troops should
 be held in readiness to march into England,
 Ireland, or any part of the king's dominions,
 for any cause in which his majesty's authority,
 power, or greatness was concerned; on receiving
 orders, not from the king himself, but from the
 privy council of Scotland.

LAUDERDALE boasted extremely of his services
 in procuring these two laws. The king by the
 former was rendered absolute master of the church,
 and might legally, by his edict, re-establish, if
 he thought proper, the catholic religion in
 Scotland. By the latter he saw a powerful force
 ready at his call: He had even the advantage
 of being able to disguise his orders under the
 name of the privy council; and in case of failure
 in his enterprises, could, by such a pretence,
 apologize for his conduct to the parliament of
 England. But in proportion as these laws were

agreeable to the king, they gave alarm to the English commons, and were the chief cause of the redoubled attacks, which they made upon Lauderdale. These attacks, however, served only to fortify him in his interest with the king; and though it is probable, that the militia of Scotland, during the divided state of that kingdom, would, if matters had come to extremities, have been of little service against England; yet did Charles regard the credit of it as a considerable support to his authority: And Lauderdale, by degrees, became the prime or rather sole minister for Scotland. The natural indolence of the king disposed him to place entire confidence in a man, who had so far extended the royal prerogative, and who was still disposed to render it absolutely uncontrollable.

IN a subsequent session of the same parliament²³, a severe law was enacted against conventicles. Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houses; but field-conventicles were subjected to the penalty of death and confiscation of goods: Four hundred marks Scotch were offered as a reward to those who should seize the criminals; and they were indemnified for any slaughter, which they might commit in the execution of such an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence against these conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted

²³ 28th of July, 1670.

C H A P. by another law, that, whoever, being required
 LXVI. by the council, refused to give information upon
 1678. oath, should be punished by arbitrary fines, by
 imprisonment, or by banishment to the planta-
 tions. Thus all persecution naturally, or rather
 necessarily, adopts the iniquities, as well as rigors,
 of the inquisition. What a considerable part of
 the society consider as their duty and honor,
 and even many of the opposite party are apt to
 regard with compassion and indulgence, can by
 no other expedient be subjected to such severe
 penalties as the natural sentiments of mankind
 appropriate only to the greatest crimes.

THOUGH Lauderdale found this ready com-
 pliance in the parliament, a party was formed
 against him, of which duke Hamilton was the
 head. This nobleman, with Tweddale, and
 others, went to London, and applied to the
 king, who, during the present depression and
 insignificance of parliament, was alone able to
 correct the abuses of Lauderdale's administration.
 But even their complaints to him might be
 dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the
 throne were barred by the ridiculous law against
 leasing-making; a law, which seems to have been
 extorted by the ancient nobles, in order to pro-
 tect their own tyranny, oppression, and injustice.
 Great precautions, therefore, were used by the
 Scottish malecontents in their representations to
 the king; but no redress was obtained. Charles
 loaded them with caresses, and continued Lauder-
 dale in his authority.

A VERY bad, at least a severe use was made of this authority. The privy council dispossessed twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houses¹⁴; which were converted into so many garrisons, established for the suppression of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was really, on account of these religious assemblies, in a state of war; and by the ancient law, the king, in such an emergency, was empowered to place a garrison in any house, where he should judge it expedient.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1678.

It were endless to recount every act of violence and arbitrary authority exercised during Lauderdale's administration. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay, banished by the king's order twelve miles from the capital, and by that means the whole justice of the kingdom was suspended for a year; till these lawyers were brought to declare it as their opinion, that all appeals to parliament were illegal. A letter was procured from the king, for expelling twelve of the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public office; though their only crime had been their want of compliance with Lauderdale. The boroughs of Scotland have a privilege of meeting once a-year by their deputies in order to consider the state of trade, and make by-laws for its regulation: In this convention a petition was voted, complaining of some late acts, which obstructed commerce, and praying

¹⁴ In 1675.

C H A P. the king, that he would empower his commis-
 LXVI. sioner, in the next session of parliament, to give
 1678. his assent for repealing them. For this presumption,
 as it was called, several of the members were fined
 and imprisoned. One More, a member of par-
 liament, having moved in the house, that, in
 imitation of the English parliament, no bill should
 pass except after three readings, he was, for this
 pretended offence, immediately sent to prison by
 the commissioner.

THE private deportment of Lauderdale was as
 insolent and provoking as his public administra-
 tion was violent and tyrannical. Justice likewise
 was universally perverted by faction and interest:
 And from the great rapacity of that duke, and
 still more of his dutchess, all offices and favors
 were openly put to sale. No-one was allowed
 to approach the throne who was not dependent
 on him; and no remedy could be hoped for, or
 obtained against, his manifold oppressions. The
 case of Mitchel shows, that this minister was as
 much destitute of truth and honor as of lenity
 and justice.

MITCHEL was a desperate fanatic, and had
 entertained a resolution of assassinating Sharpe,
 archbishop of St. Andrews, who, by his former
 apostasy and subsequent rigor, had rendered
 himself extremely odious to the covenanters. In
 the year 1668, Mitchel fired a pistol at the
 primate, as he was sitting in his coach; but the
 bishop of Orkney, stepping into the coach, hap-
 pened to stretch out his arm, which intercepted

the ball, and was much shattered by it. This happened in the principal street of the city; but so generally was the archbishop hated, that the assassin was allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a street or two, and thrown off a wig, which disguised him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unsuspected. Some years after, Sharpe remarked one, who seemed to eye him very eagerly; and being still anxious, lest an attempt of assassination should be renewed, he ordered the man to be seized and examined. Two loaded pistols were found upon him; and as he was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promised, that, if he would confess his guilt, he should be dismissed without any punishment. Mitchel (for the conjecture was just), was so credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithless primate. The council, having no proof against him, but hoping to involve the whole body of covenanters in this odious crime, solemnly renewed the promise of pardon, if he would make a full discovery; and it was a great disappointment to them, when they found, upon his confession, that only one person, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody purpose. Mitchel was then carried before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confession; but being apprehensive, lest, though a pardon for life had been promised him, other corporal punishment might still be inflicted, he refused compliance;

C H A P.

LXVI.

1678.

C H A P.
LXVI.
1678.

and was sent back to prison. He was next examined before the council, under pretence of his being concerned in the insurrection at Pentland; and though no proof appeared against him, he was put to the question, and, contrary to the most obvious principles of equity, was urged to accuse himself. He endured the torture with singular resolution, and continued obstinate in the denial of a crime, of which, it is believed, he really was not guilty. Instead of obtaining his liberty, he was sent to the Bass, a very high rock, surrounded by the sea; at this time converted into a state prison, and full of the unhappy covenanters. He there remained in great misery, loaded with irons; till the year 1677, when it was resolved by some new examples to strike a fresh terror into the persecuted, but still obstinate enthusiasts. Mitchel was then brought before a court of judicature, and put upon his trial, for an attempt to assassinate an archbishop and a privy counsellor. His former confession was pleaded against him, and was proved by the testimony of the duke of Lauderdale, lord commissioner, lord Hatton his brother, the earl of Rothes, and the primate himself. Mitchel, besides maintaining that the privy counsel was no court of judicature, and that a confession before them was not judicial, asserted, that he had been engaged to make that confession by a solemn promise of pardon. The four privy counsellors denied upon oath, that any such promise had ever been given. The prisoner then desired,

that the council books might be produced in court; and even offered a copy of that day's proceedings to be read; but the privy counsellors maintained, that, after they had made oath, no farther proof could be admitted, and that the books of council contained the king's secrets, which were on no account to be divulged. They were not probably aware, when they swore, that the clerk having engrossed the promise of pardon in the narrative of Mitchel's confession, the whole minute had been signed by the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record. Though the prisoner was condemned, Lauderdale was still inclined to pardon him; but the unrelenting primate rigorously insisted upon his execution, and said, that, if assassins remained unpunished, his life must be exposed to perpetual danger. Mitchel was accordingly executed at Edinburgh in January 1678. Such a complication of cruelty and treachery shows the character of those ministers, to whom the king had, at this time, intrusted the government of Scotland.

C H A P.

LXVI.

1678.

LAUDERDALE's administration, besides the iniquities arising from the violence of his temper, and the still greater iniquities inseparable from all projects of persecution, was attended with other circumstances, which engaged him in severe and arbitrary measures. An absolute government was to be introduced, which on its commencement is often most rigorous; and tyranny was still obliged, for want of military power, to

C H A P. LXVI. 1678. cover itself under an appearance of law; a situation which rendered it extremely awkward in its motions, and by provoking opposition, extended the violence of its oppressions.

THE rigors exercised against conventicles, instead of breaking the spirit of the fanatics, had tended only, as is usual, to render them more obstinate, to increase the fervor of their zeal, to link them more closely together, and to inflame them against the established hierarchy. The commonalty, almost every where in the south, particularly in the western counties, frequented conventicles without reserve; and the gentry, though they themselves commonly abstained from these illegal places of worship, connived at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to interest the former on the side of the persecutors, a bond or contract was by order of the privy council tendered to the landlords in the west, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in case any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine as could by law be exacted from the delinquent. It was ridiculous to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts: It was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another: It was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon men, who had nowhere offended. For these reasons, the greater part of the gentry refused to sign these bonds; and Lauderdale, enraged at this opposition, endeavoured to break their spirit by expedients,

which were still more unusual and more arbitrary. C H A P.

THE law enacted against conventicles, had LXVI.
1678.

called them seminaries of rebellion. This expression, which was nothing but a flourish of rhetoric, Lauderdale and the privy council were willing to understand in a literal sense; and because the western counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwise in profound peace, they pretended that these counties were in a state of actual war and rebellion. They made therefore an agreement with some highland chieftains to call out their clans, to the number of 8000 men: To these they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus: And they sent the whole to live at free quarters upon the lands of such as had refused the bonds illegally required of them. The obnoxious counties were the most populous and most industrious in Scotland. The highlanders were the people the most disorderly and the least civilized. It is easy to imagine the havoc and destruction which ensued. A multitude, not accustomed to discipline, averse to the restraint of laws, trained up in rapine and violence, were let loose amidst those whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their prince and to their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: By menaces, by violence, and sometimes by tortures, men were obliged to discover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence afforded protection: And the gentry, finding that even those who had been most compliant, and who had subscribed the bonds, were

C H A P. LXVI. 1678. equally exposed to the rapacity of those barbarians, confirmed themselves still more in the resolution of refusing them. The voice of the nation was raised against this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the highlanders were sent back to their hills, loaded with the spoils and execrations of the west.

THOSE who had been engaged to subscribe the bonds, could find no security but by turning out such tenants as they suspected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their estates. To increase the misery of these unhappy farmers, the council enacted, that none should be received any where, or allowed a habitation, who brought not a certificate of his conformity from the parish-minister. That the obstinate and refractory might not escape farther persecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, any man, who should go before a magistrate, and swear that he thought himself in danger from another, might obtain a writ of *law-burrows*, as it is called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of imprisonment and outlawry, to find security for his good behaviour. Lauderdale entertained the absurd notion of making the king sue out writs of law-burrows against his subjects. On this pretence, the refusers of the bonds were summoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themselves, under the penalty of two years' rent, neither to frequent conventicles themselves, nor allow their family and

tenants to be present at those unlawful assemblies. C H A P.
Thus chicanery was joined to tyranny; and the LXVI.
majesty of the king, instead of being exalted, 1678.
was in reality prostituted; as if he were obliged
to seek the same security, which one neighbour
might require of another.

It was an old law, but seldom executed,
that a man, who was accused of any crime,
and did not appear, in order to stand his trial,
might be *intercommuned*, that is, he might be
publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards,
either on account of business, relation, nay
charity, had the least intercourse with him, was
subjected to the same penalties as could by law
be inflicted on the criminal himself. Several writs
of intercommuning were now issued against the
hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by
this severe and even absurd law, crimes and
guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical pro-
portion. Where laws themselves are so violent,
it is no wonder that an administration should be
tyrannical.

LEST the cry of an oppressed people should
reach the throne, the council forbid, under severe
penalties, all noblemen or gentlemen of landed
property to leave the kingdom: A severe edict,
especially where the sovereign himself resided in
a foreign country. Notwithstanding this act of
council, Cassilis first, afterwards Hamilton and
Tweddale, went to London, and laid their com-
plaints before the king. These violent proceed-
ings of Lauderdale were opposite to the natural

C H A P.
LXVI.
1673.

temper of Charles; and he immediately issued orders for discontinuing the bonds and the writs of law-burrows. But as he was commonly little touched with what lay at a distance, he entertained not the proper indignation against those who had abused his authority: Even while he retracted these oppressive measures, he was prevailed with to avow and praise them in a letter, which he wrote to the privy council. This proof of confidence might fortify the hands of the ministry; but the king ran a manifest risque of losing the affections of his subjects, by not permitting, even those who were desirous of it, to distinguish between him and their oppressors.

It is reported²⁹, that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scottish affairs, said, "I perceive, that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find, that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest." A sentiment unworthy of a sovereign!

DURING the absence of Hamilton and the other discontented lords, the king allowed Lauderdale to summon a convention of estates at Edinburgh. This assembly, besides granting some money, bestowed applause on all Lauderdale's administration, and in their addresses to the king, expressed the highest contentment and satisfaction. But these instances of complaisance had the contrary effect in England from what was expected

²⁹ Burnet.

by the contrivers of them. All men there concluded, that in Scotland the very voice of liberty was totally suppressed; and that, by the prevalence of tyranny, grievances were so rivetted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, or complain to the prince, who alone was able to redress them. From the slavery of the neighbouring kingdom, they inferred the arbitrary disposition of the king; and from the violence with which sovereign power was there exercised, they apprehended the miseries, which might ensue to themselves upon their loss of liberty. If persecution, it was asked, by a protestant church could be carried to such extremes, what might be dreaded from the prevalence of popery, which had ever, in all ages, made open profession of exterminating by fire and sword every opposite sect or communion? And if the first approaches towards unlimited authority were so tyrannical, how dismal its final establishment; when all dread of opposition shall at last be removed by mercenary armies, and all sense of shame by long and inveterate habit?

C H A P.
LXVI.
1678.

C H A P. LXVII.

The popish plot — Oates's narrative — and character — Coleman's letters — Godfrey's murder — General consternation — The parliament — Zeal of the parliament — Bedloe's narrative — Accusation of Danby — His impeachment — Dissolution of the long parliament — Its character — Trial of Coleman — Of Ireland — New elections — Duke of Monmouth — Duke of York retires to Brussels — New parliament — Danby's impeachment — Popish plot — New council — Limitations on a popish successor — Bill of exclusion — Habeas corpus bill — Prorogation and dissolution of the parliament — Trial and execution of the five jesuits — And of Langborne — Wakeman acquitted — State of affairs in Scotland — Battle of Bothwell bridge.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

THE English nation, ever since the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealousies against the court; and the subsequent measures, adopted by the king, had tended more to increase than cure the general prejudices. Some mysterious design was still suspected in every enterprise and profession: Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the scope of all projects: Each breath or rumor made the people start with anxiety: Their enemies, they thought, were in their very bosom, and had gotten possession of their sove-

reign's confidence. While in this timorous, jealous disposition, the cry of a *plot* all on a sudden struck their ears: They were awakened from their slumber; and like men affrightened and in the dark, took every figure for a spectre. The terror of each man became the source of terror to another. And an universal panic being diffused, reason and argument and common sense and common humanity lost all influence over them. From this disposition of men's minds we are to account for the progress of the POPISH PLOT, and the credit given to it; an event, which would otherwise appear prodigious and altogether inexplicable.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

The Popish
plot.

ON the 12th of August, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king, as he was walking in the park: "Sir," said he, "keep within the company: Your enemies have a design upon your life; and you may be shot in this very walk." Being asked the reason of these strange speeches, he said, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot the king, and Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by doctor Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his majesty. Tongue was a divine of the church of England; a man active, restless, full of projects, void of understanding. He brought papers to the king, which contained information of a plot, and were digested into forty-three articles. The king, not having leisure to peruse them, sent them to the treasurer, Danby, and ordered the two informers

C H A P. to lay the business before that minister. **Tongue**
LXVII. confessed to Danby, that he himself had not
1678. drawn the papers, that they had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he did not certainly know, who was the author. After a few days, he returned, and told the treasurer, that his suspicions, he found, were just; and that the author of the intelligence, whom he had met twice or thrice in the street, had acknowledged the whole matter, and had given him a more particular account of the conspiracy, but desired, that his name might be concealed, being apprehensive lest the papists should murder him.

THE information was renewed with regard to Grove's and Pickering's intentions of shooting the king; and Tongue even pretended, that, at a particular time, they were to set out for Windsor with that intention. Orders were given for arresting them, as soon as they should appear in that place: But though this alarm was more than once renewed, some frivolous reasons were still found by Tongue for their having delayed the journey. And the king concluded, both from these evasions, and from the mysterious, artificial manner of communicating the intelligence, that the whole was an imposture.

TONGUE came next to the treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to Bennifield, a jesuit, confessor to the duke. When

this intelligence was conveyed to the king, he replied, that the packet mentioned had a few hours before been brought to the duke by Ben-
 nifield; who said, that he suspected some bad design upon him, that the letters seemed to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the hand-writing of the persons whose names were subscribed to them. This incident still farther confirmed the king in his incredulity.

C H A P.
 LXVII.
 1678.

THE matter had probably slept for ever, had it not been for the anxiety of the duke; who, hearing that priests and jesuits and even his own confessor had been accused, was desirous, that a thorough inquiry should be made by the council into the pretended conspiracy. Kirby and Tongue were inquired after, and were now found to be living in close connexion with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that he had fallen under suspicion with the Jesuits; that he had received three blows with a stick, and a box on the ear from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conspiracy; And that, over-hearing them speak of their intentions to punish him more severely he had withdrawn, and concealed himself. This man, in whose breast was lodged a secret, involving the fate of kings and kingdoms, was allowed to remain in such necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread; and it was a joyful surprise to him, when he heard, that the council

C H A P. LXVII. 1678. was at last disposed to take some notice of his intelligence. But as he expected more encouragement from the public, than from the king or his ministers, he thought proper, before he was presented to the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conspiracy.

Oates's narrative.

THE wonderful intelligence, which Oates conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the parliament, was to this purpose^s. The pope, he said, on examining the matter in the congregation *de propaganda*, had found himself entitled to the possession of England and Ireland on account of the heresy of prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This supreme power he had thought proper to delegate to the society of Jesuits; and de Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had exerted every act of regal authority, and particularly had supplied, by commissions under the seal of the society, all the chief offices, both civil and military. Lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy seal, Coleman secretary of state, Langhorne attorney general, lord Bellasis general of the papal army, lord Peters lieutenant general, lord Stafford pay-master; and inferior commissions, signed by the provincial of the Jesuits, were

^s Oates's narrative.

distributed all over England. All the dignities too of the church were filled, and many of them with Spaniards and other foreigners. The provincial had held a consult of the Jesuits under his authority; where the king, whom they opprobriously called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried and condemned as a heretic; and a resolution taken to put him to death. Father Le Shee (for so this great plotter and informer called father la Chaize, the noted confessor of the French king) had consigned in London ten thousand pounds to be paid to any man, who should merit it by this assassination. A Spanish provincial had expressed like liberality: The prior of the Benedictines was willing to go the length of six thousand: The Dominicans approved of the action; but pleaded poverty. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who demanded fifteen thousand, as a reward for so great a service: His demand was complied with; and five thousand had been paid him by advance. Lest this means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been hired by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a-piece, to stab the king at Windsor; and Coleman, secretary to the late duchess of York, had given the messenger, who carried them orders, a guinea to quicken his diligence. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the king with silver bullets: The former was to receive the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; the latter, being a pious man, was to be rewarded with thirty thousand

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

masses, which, estimating masses at a shilling a-piece, amounted to a like value. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint at one time dropped out of his pistol, at another time the priming. Coniers, the Jesuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten shillings, which, he thought, was not dear, considering the purpose for which he intended it, to wit, stabbing the king. Letters of subscription were circulated among the catholics all over England to raise a sum for the same purpose. No less than fifty Jesuits had met in May last, at the White-horse tavern, where it was unanimously agreed to put the king to death. This synod did afterwards, for more convenience, divide themselves into many lesser cabals or companies; and Oates was employed to carry notes and letters from one to another, all tending to the same end, of murdering the king. He even carried, from one company to another, a paper, in which they formally expressed their resolution of executing that deed; and it was regularly subscribed by all of them. A wager of a hundred pounds was laid, and stakes made, that the king should eat no more Christmas pies. In short, it was determined, to use the expression of a Jesuit, that if he would not become R. C. (Roman Catholic) he should no longer be C. R. (Charles Rex.) The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-six persons for that purpose, and had expended seven hundred fire-balls; but they had a good return for their

money ; for they had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the amount of fourteen thousand pounds : The Jesuits had also raised another fire on St Margaret's Hill, whence they had stolen goods to the value of two thousand pounds ; Another at Southwark : And it was determined in like manner to burn all the chief cities in England. A paper-model was already framed for the firing of London ; the stations were regularly marked out, where the several fires were to commence ; and the whole plan of operations was so concerted, that precautions were taken by the Jesuits to vary their measures, according to the variation of the wind. Fire-balls were familiarly called among them Tewksbury mustard-pills ; and were said to contain a notable biting sauce. In the great fire, it had been determined to murder the king ; but he had displayed such diligence and humanity in extinguishing the flames, that even the Jesuits relented, and spared his life. Besides these assassinations and fires ; insurrections, rebellions, and massacres were projected by that religious order in all the three kingdoms. There were twenty thousand catholics in London, who would rise in four-and-twenty hours or less ; and Jennison, a Jesuit, said, that they might easily cut the throats of a hundred thousand protestants. Eight thousand catholics had agreed to take arms in Scotland. Ormond was to be murdered by four Jesuits ; a general massacre of the Irish protestants was concerted ; and forty thousand black bills were already provided for

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

C H A P. LXVII. 1678. that purpose. Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French king was to land a great army in that island. Poole, who wrote the Synopsis, was particularly marked out for assassination; as was also Dr. Stillingfleet, a controversial writer against the papists. Burnet tells us, that Oates paid him the same compliment. After all this havoc, the crown was to be offered to the duke, but on the following conditions; that he receive it as a gift from the pope; that he confirm all the papal commissions for offices and employments; that he ratify all past transactions, by pardoning the incendiaries, and the murderers of his brother and of the people; and that he consent to the utter extirpation of the protestant religion. If he refuse these conditions, he himself was immediately to be poisoned or assassinated. *To pot James must go*; according to the expression ascribed by Oates to the Jesuits.

OATES, the informer of this dreadful plot, was himself the most infamous of mankind. He was the son of an anabaptist preacher, chaplain to colonel Pride; but having taken orders in the church, he had been settled in a small living by the duke of Norfolk. He had been indicted for perjury; and by some means had escaped. He was afterwards a chaplain on board the fleet; whence he had been dismissed on complaint of some unnatural practices, not fit to be named. He then became a convert to the catholics; but he afterwards boasted, that his conversion was

a mere pretence, in order to get into their secrets and to betray them². He was sent over to the Jesuit's college at St. Omers, and though above thirty years of age, he there lived some time among the students. He was dispatched on an errand to Spain; and thence returned to St. Omers; where the Jesuits, heartily tired of their convert, at last dismissed him from their seminary. It is likely, that, from resentment of this usage, as well as from want and indigence, he was induced, in combination with Tongue, to contrive that plot, of which he accused the catholics.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

THIS abandoned man, when examined before the council, betrayed his impostures in such a manner, as would have utterly discredited the most consistent story, and the most reputable evidence. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him, what sort of a man Don John was: He answered, a tall lean man; directly contrary to truth, as the king well knew³. He totally mistook the situation of the Jesuits' college at Paris⁴. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, he knew him not, when placed very near him; and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad in candle-light⁵. He fell into like mistakes with regard to Wakeman.

² Burnet, Echard, North, L'Estrange, &c.

³ Burnet, North. ⁴ North.

⁵ Burnet, North, Trials.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1678.

NOTWITHSTANDING these objections, great attention was paid to Oates's evidence, and the plot became very soon the subject of conversation, and even the object of terror to the people. The violent animosity, which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the public swallow the grossest absurdities when they accompanied an accusation of those religionists: And the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of a Jesuit. Danby likewise, who stood in opposition to the French and catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story, which might serve to discredit that party. By his suggestion, when a warrant was signed for arresting Coleman, there was inserted a clause for seizing his papers; a circumstance attended with the most important consequences.

Coleman's
letters.

COLEMAN, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the duke, had been engaged in a correspondence with father la Chaize, with the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with other catholics abroad; and being himself a fiery zealot, busy and sanguine, the expressions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiscretion. His correspondence, during the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676, was seized, and contained many extraordinary passages. In particular he said to la Chaize, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long

“ time domineered over a great part of this
 “ northern world. There were never such hopes
 “ of success, since the days of queen Mary, as
 “ now in our days. God has given us a prince,”
 meaning the duke, “ who is become (may I say
 “ a miracle) zealous of being the author and
 “ instrument of so glorious a work ; but the
 “ opposition we are sure to meet with is also like
 “ to be great : So that it imports us to get all
 “ the aid and assistance we can.” In another letter
 he said, “ I can scarce believe myself awake, or
 “ the thing real, when I think of a prince in such
 “ an age as we live in, converted to such a
 “ degree of zeal and piety, as not to regard any
 “ thing in the world in comparison of God Al-
 “ mighty’s glory, the salvation of his own soul,
 “ and the conversion of our poor kingdom.” In
 other passages the interests of the crown of Eng-
 land, those of the French king, and those of the
 catholic religion are spoken of as inseparable. The
 duke is also said to have connected his interests
 unalterably with those of Lewis. The king himself,
 he affirms, is always inclined to favor the catho-
 lics, when he may do it without hazard. “ Money,”
 Coleman adds, “ cannot fail of persuading the
 “ king to any thing. There is nothing it cannot
 “ make him do, were it ever so much to his
 “ prejudice. It has such an absolute power over
 “ him, that he cannot resist it. Logic, built
 “ upon money, has in our court more powerful
 “ charms than any other sort of argument.” For
 these reasons, he proposed to father la Chaise,

C H A P. LXVII. 1678. that the French king should remit the sum of 300,000 pounds, on condition that the parliament be dissolved; a measure, to which, he affirmed, the king was, of himself, sufficiently inclined, were it not for his hopes of obtaining money from that assembly. The parliament, he said, had already constrained the king to make peace with Holland, contrary to the interests of the catholic religion, and of his most christian majesty: And if they should meet again, they would surely engage him farther, even to the making of war against France. It appears also from the same letters, that the assembling of the parliament so late as April in the year 1675, had been procured by the intrigues of the catholic and French party, who thereby intended to show the Dutch and their confederates, that they could expect no assistance from England.

WHEN the contents of these letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic, with which the nation began already to be seized on account of the popish plot. Men reasoned more from their fears and their passions than from the evidence before them. It is certain, that the restless and enterprising spirit of the catholic church, particularly of the Jesuits, merits attention, and is, in some degree, dangerous to every other communion. Such zeal of profelytism actuates that sect, that its missionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and, in one sense, there is a *popish plot* perpetually carrying on against all states, protestant, pagan, and maho-

metan. It is likewise very probable, that the conversion of the duke, and the favor of the king had inspired the catholic priests with new hopes of recovering in these islands their lost dominion, and gave fresh vigor to that intemperate zeal, by which they are commonly actuated. Their first aim was to obtain a toleration; and such was the evidence, they believed, of their theological tenets, that, could they but procure entire liberty, they must infallibly in time open the eyes of the people. After they had converted considerable numbers, they might be enabled, they hoped, to reinstate themselves in full authority, and entirely to suppress that heresy, with which the kingdom had so long been infected. Though these dangers to the protestant religion were distant, it was justly the object of great concern to find, that the heir of the crown was so blinded with bigotry, and so deeply engaged in foreign interests; and that the king himself had been prevailed on, from low interests, to hearken to his dangerous insinuations. Very bad consequences might ensue from such perverse habits and attachments; nor could the nation and parliament guard against them with too anxious a precaution. But that the Roman pontiff could hope to assume the sovereignty of these kingdoms; a project, which, even during the darkness of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have appeared chimerical; That he should delegate this authority to the Jesuits; that order in the Romish church, which was the most hated: That

C H A P. a massacre could be attempted of the protestants,
 LXVII. who surpassed the catholics a hundred fold, and
 1678. were invested with the whole authority of the
 state: That the king himself was to be assassinated,
 and even the duke, the only support of their
 party: These were such absurdities as no human
 testimony was sufficient to prove; much less the
 evidence of one man, who was noted for infamy,
 and who could not keep himself, every moment,
 from falling into the grossest inconsistencies. Did
 such intelligence deserve even so much attention
 as to be refuted, it would appear, that Coleman's
 letters were sufficient alone to destroy all its credit.
 For how could so long a train of correspondence
 be carried on, by a man so much trusted by the
 party; and yet no traces of insurrections, if really
 intended, of fires, massacres, assassinations, inva-
 sions, be ever discovered in any single passage of
 these letters? But all such reflections, and many
 more, equally obvious, were vainly employed
 against that general prepossession, with which
 the nation was seized. Oates's plot and Coleman's
 were universally confounded together: And the
 evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the
 belief of the former, aided by the passions of
 hatred and of terror, took possession of the whole
 people.

17th Octob.
 Godfrey's
 murder.

THERE was danger, however, lest time might
 open the eyes of the public; when the murder
 of Godfrey completed the general delusion, and
 rendered the prejudices of the nation absolutely
 incurable. This magistrate had been missing some
 days;

days; and after much search, and many surmises, his body was found lying in a ditch at Primrose-hill: The marks of strangling were thought to appear about his neck, and some contusions on his breast: His own sword was sticking in the body; but as no considerable quantity of blood ensued on drawing it, it was concluded, that it had been thrust in after his death, and that he had not killed himself: He had rings on his fingers and money in his pocket: It was therefore inferred, that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reasoning, the cry rose, that he had been assassinated by the papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamor was quickly propagated, and met with universal belief. The panic spread itself on every side with infinite rapidity; and all men, astonished with fear, and animated with rage, saw in Godfrey's fate all the horrible designs ascribed to the Catholics; and no farther doubt remained of Oates's veracity. The voice of the nation united against that hated sect; and notwithstanding that the bloody conspiracy was supposed to be now detected, men could scarcely be persuaded, that their lives were yet in safety. Each hour teemed with new rumors and surmises. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, even private murders and poisonings were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot was to be an accomplice: To hesitate was criminal: Royalist, Republican; Churchman, Sectary; Courtier, Patriot; all parties concurred in the illusion. The city

C H A P.

LXVII.

1678.

General
consternation.

C H A P. prepared for its defence, as if the enemy were
 LXVII. at its gates: The chains and posts were put up:
 1678. And it was a noted saying at that time of Sir
 Thomas Player, the chamberlain, that, were it
 not for these precautions, all the citizens might
 rise next morning with their throats cut⁶.

IN order to propagate the popular frenzy, several artifices were employed. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. It was publicly exposed in the streets, and viewed by all ranks of men; and every one, who saw it, went away inflamed, as well by the mutual contagion of sentiments, as by the dismal spectacle itself. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. The corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city: Seventy-two clergymen marched before: Above a thousand persons of distinction followed after: And at the funeral-sermon, two able-bodied divines mounted the pulpit, and stood on each side of the preacher, lest, in paying the last duties to this unhappy magistrate, he should, before the whole people, be murdered by the Papists⁷.

IN this disposition of the nation, reason could no more be heard than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane. Even at present, Godfrey's murder can scarcely, upon any system, be rationally accounted for. That he was assassinated by the Catholics, seems utterly improbable.

⁶ North, p. 206. ⁷ North, p. 205.

These religionists could not be engaged to commit that crime from *policy*, in order to deter other magistrates from acting against them. Godfrey's fate was nowise capable of producing that effect, unless it were publicly known, that the Catholics were his murderers; an opinion, which, it was easy to foresee, must prove the ruin of their party. Besides, how many magistrates, during more than a century, had acted in the most violent manner against the Catholics, without its being ever suspected, that any one had been cut off by assassination? Such jealous times as the present were surely ill fitted for beginning these dangerous experiments. Shall we therefore say, that the catholics were pushed on, not by policy, but by blind *revenge* against Godfrey? But Godfrey had given them little or no occasion of offence in taking Oates's evidence. His part was merely an act of form, belonging to his office; nor could he, or any man in his station, possibly refuse it. In the rest of his conduct, he lived on good terms with the Catholics, and was far from distinguishing himself by his severity against that sect. It is even certain, that he had contracted an intimacy with Coleman, and took care to inform his friend of the danger, to which, by reason of Oates's evidence, he was at present exposed.

THERE are some writers, who, finding it impossible to account for Godfrey's murder by the machinations of the Catholics, have recourse to the opposite supposition. They lay hold of that

C H A P. obvious presumption, that those commit the crime
LXVII. who reap advantage by it; and they affirm that
 1678. it was Shaftesbury and the heads of the popular party, who perpetrated that deed, in order to throw the odium of it on the Papists. If this supposition be received, it must also be admitted, that the whole plot was the contrivance of those politicians; and that Oates acted altogether under their direction. But it appears, that Oates, dreading probably the opposition of powerful enemies, had very anxiously acquitted the duke, Danby, Ormond, and all the ministry; persons who were certainly the most obnoxious to the popular leaders. Besides, the whole texture of the plot contains such low absurdity, that it is impossible to have been the invention of any man of sense or education. It is true, the more monstrous and horrible the conspiracy, the better was it fitted to terrify, and thence to convince, the populace: But this effect, we may safely say, no one could before-hand have expected; and a fool was in this case more likely to succeed than a wise man. Had Shaftesbury laid the plan of a popish conspiracy, he had probably rendered it moderate, consistent, credible; and on that very account had never met with the prodigious success, with which Oates's tremendous fictions were attended.

WE must, therefore, be contented to remain for ever ignorant of the actors in Godfrey's murder; and only pronounce in general, that that event, in all likelihood, had no connexion,

one way or other, with the popish plot. Any man, especially so active a magistrate as Godfrey, might, in such a city as London, have many enemies, of whom his friends and family had no suspicion. He was a melancholy man; and there is some reason, notwithstanding the pretended appearances to the contrary, to suspect that he fell by his own hands. The affair was never examined with tranquillity, or even with common sense, during the time; and it is impossible for us, at this distance, certainly to account for it.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

No one doubted but the papists had assassinated Godfrey; but still the particular actors were unknown. A proclamation was issued by the king, offering a pardon and a reward of five hundred pounds to any one who should discover them. As it was afterwards surmised, that the terror of a like assassination would prevent discovery, a new proclamation was issued, promising absolute protection to any one who should reveal the secret. Thus were indemnity, money, and security offered to the fairest bidder: And no one needed to fear, during the present fury of the people, that his evidence would undergo too severe a scrutiny.

WHILE the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled. In his speech the king told them, that, though they had given money for disbanding the army^s, he had found Flanders

21st Octob.
The parliament.

^s They had granted him 600,000 pounds for disbanding

C H A P. LXVII. 1678. so exposed, that he had thought it necessary still to keep them on foot, and doubted not but this measure would meet with their approbation. He informed them, that his revenue lay under great anticipations, and at best was never equal to the constant and necessary expence of government; as would appear from the state of it, which he intended to lay before them. He also mentioned the plot, formed against his life by Jesuits; but said, that he would forbear delivering any opinion of the matter, lest he should seem to say too much or too little; and that he would leave the scrutiny of it entirely to the law.

THE king was anxious to keep the question of the popish plot from the parliament; where, he suspected, many designing people would very much abuse the present credulity of the nation: But Danby, who hated the catholics, and courted popularity, and perhaps hoped, that the king, if his life were believed in danger from the Jesuits, would be more cordially loved by the nation, had entertained opposite designs; and the very first day of the session, he opened the matter in the house of peers. The king was extremely displeased with this temerity, and told his minister, “ Though you do not believe it, you will
“ find, that you have given the parliament a
“ handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb
“ all my affairs; and you will surely live to

the army, for reimbursing the charges of his naval armament, and for paying the princess of Orange's portion.

“repent it.” Danby had afterwards sufficient reason to applaud the sagacity of his master.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1678.

Zeal of the parliament.

THE cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other. The authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury, with which the people were already agitated. An address was voted for a solemn fast: A form of prayer was contrived for that solemnity; and because the popish plot had been omitted in the first draught, it was carefully ordered to be inserted; lest omniscience should want intelligence, to use the words of an historian⁹.

IN order to continue and propagate the alarm, addresses were voted for laying before the house such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of popish recusants from London; for administering every where the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; for denying access at court to all unknown or suspicious persons; and for appointing the trained bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached for high treason. And both houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, “That
“the lords and commons are of opinion, that
“there hath been, and still is, a damnable and
“hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the
“popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for

⁹ North, p. 207.

C H A P. LXVII. 1678. “ subverting the government, and for rooting
“ out and destroying the protestant religion”.

So vehement were the houses, that they sat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the subject of the plot: For no other business could be attended to. A committee of lords were appointed to examine prisoners and witnesses: Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of such as should be accused or suspected. Oates, who, though his evidence were true, must, by his own account, be regarded as an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, carested, and called the saviour of the nation. He was recommended by the parliament to the king: He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of 1200 pounds a-year.

Bedloe's
narrative.

It was not long before such bountiful encouragement brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and even thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and frequently passed himself for a man of quality, and had endeavoured, by a variety of lies and contrivances, to prey upon the ignorant and unwary. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder only, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset-house, where the queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He was questioned about

the plot; but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, when examined before the committee of lords, he bethought himself better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found so anxiously inquired into. This narrative he made to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published: But that he might make himself acceptable by new matter, he added some other circumstances, and these, still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington Bay, and immediately to seize Hull: That Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprised by forces from Brest: and that a French Fleet was, all last summer, hovering in the Channel for that purpose: That the lords Powis and Peters were to form an army in Radnorshire, to be joined by another army, consisting of twenty or thirty thousand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land at Milford Haven from St. Iago in Spain: That there were forty thousand men ready in London; besides those, who would, on the alarm, be posted at every alehouse door, in order to kill the soldiers, as they came out of their quarters: That lord Stafford, Coleman, and father Ireland had money sufficient to defray the expenses of all these armaments: That he himself was to receive four thousand pounds, as one that could murder a man; as also a commission from lord Bellasis, and a benediction from the pope: That

C H A P.

LXVII.

1678.

C H A P. the king was to be assassinated; all the protestants
 LXVII. massacred, who would not seriously be converted;
 1678. the government offered to ONE, if he would
 consent to hold it of the church; but if he
 should refuse that condition, as was suspected,
 the supreme authority would be given to certain
 lords under the nomination of the pope. In a
 subsequent examination before the commons,
 Bedloe added (for these men always brought out
 their intelligence successively and by piece-meal),
 that lord Carrington was also in the conspiracy
 for raising men and money against the govern-
 ment; as was likewise lord Brudenel. These
 noblemen, with all the other persons mentioned
 by Bedloe, were immediately committed to
 custody by the parliament.

It is remarkable, that the only resource of
 Spain, in her present decayed condition, lay in
 the assistance of England; and, so far from being
 in a situation to transport ten thousand men for
 the invasion of that kingdom, she had solicited
 and obtained English forces to be sent into the
 garrisons of Flanders, which were not otherwise
 able to defend themselves against the French.
 The French too, we may observe, were, at that
 very time, in open war with Spain, and yet are
 supposed to be engaged in the same design against
 England; as if religious motives were become
 the sole actuating principle among sovereigns.
 But none of these circumstances, however obvi-
 ous, were able, when set in opposition to multi-
 plied horrors, antipathies, and prejudices, to

engage the least attention of the populace: For such the whole nation were at this time become. The popish plot passed for incontestible: And had not men soon expected with certainty the legal punishment of these criminals, the catholics had been exposed to the hazard of an universal massacre. The torrent indeed of national prejudices ran so high, that no one, without the most imminent danger, durst venture openly to oppose it; nay, scarcely any one, without great force of judgment, could even secretly entertain an opinion contrary to the prevailing sentiments. The loud and unanimous voice of a great nation has mighty authority over weak minds; and even later historians are so swayed by the concurring judgment of such multitudes, that some of them have esteemed themselves sufficiently moderate, when they affirmed, that many circumstances of the plot were true, though some were added, and others much magnified. But it is an obvious principle, that a witness, who perjures himself in one circumstance, is credible in none: And the authority of the plot, even to the end of the prosecutions, stood entirely upon witnesses. Though the catholics had been suddenly and unexpectedly detected, at the very moment, when their conspiracy, it is said, was ripe for execution; no arms, no ammunition, no money, no commissions, no papers, no letters, after the most rigorous search, ever were discovered, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Yet still the nation, though often frustrated, went on

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

C H A P. in the eager pursuit and confident belief of the
 LXVII. conspiracy: And even the manifold inconsistencies
 1678. and absurdities, contained in the narratives, instead of discouraging them, served only as farther incentives to discover the bottom of the plot, and were considered as slight objections, which a more complete information would fully remove. In all history, it will be difficult to find such another instance of popular frenzy and bigoted delusion.

IN order to support the panic among the people, especially among the citizens of London, a pamphlet was published with this title, "A narrative and impartial discovery of the horrid popish plot, carried on for burning and destroying the cities of London and Westminster with their suburbs: setting forth the several consults, orders, and resolutions of the jesuits, concerning the same: By captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid design, and one of the popish committee for carrying on such fires." Every fire, which had happened for several years past, is there ascribed to the machinations of the jesuits, who purposed, as Bedloe said, by such attempts, to find an opportunity for the general massacre of the protestants; and in the mean time, were well pleased to enrich themselves by pilfering goods from the fire.

THE king, though he scrupled not, wherever he could speak freely, to throw the highest ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet found it necessary to adopt the popular

opinion before the parliament. The torrent, he saw, ran too strong to be controuled; and he could only hope, by a seeming compliance, to be able, after some time, to guide and direct and elude its fury. He made therefore a speech to both houses; in which he told them, that he would take the utmost care of his person during these times of danger; that he was as ready as their hearts could wish, to join with them in all means for establishing the protestant religion, not only during his own time, but for all future ages; and that, provided the right of succession were preserved, he would consent to any laws for restraining a popish successor: And in conclusion, he exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of popish recusants; and he highly praised the duty and loyalty of all his subjects, who had discovered such anxious concern for his safety.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

THESE gracious expressions abated nothing of the vehemence of parliamentary proceedings. A bill was introduced for a new test, in which popery was denominated idolatry; and all members, who refused this test, were excluded from both houses. The bill passed the commons without much opposition; but in the upper house the duke moved, that an exception might be admitted in his favor. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern, which he could have in the world; and he protested, that, whatever his

C H A P. religion might be, it should only be a private
 LXVII. *thing* between God and his own soul, and never
 1678. should appear in his public conduct. Notwith-
 standing this strong effort, in so important a
 point, he prevailed only by two voices; a suffi-
 cient indication of the general disposition of the
 people. "I would not have," said a noble peer,
 in the debate on this bill, "so much as a popish
 " man or a popish woman to remain here; not
 " so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch;
 " not so much as a popish cat to pur or mew
 " about the king." What is more extraordinary;
 this speech met with praise and approbation.

ENCOURAGED by this general fury, the wit-
 nesses went still a step farther in their accusations;
 and though both Oates and Bedloe had often
 declared, that there was no other person of
 distinction, whom they knew to be concerned in
 the plot, they were now so audacious as to ac-
 cuse the queen herself of entering into the design
 against the life of her husband. The commons,
 in an address to the king, gave countenance to
 this scandalous accusation; but the lords would
 not be prevailed with to join in the address. It
 is here, if any where, that we may suspect the
 suggestions of the popular leaders to have had
 place. The king, it was well known, bore no
 great affection to his consort; and now, more
 than ever, when his brother and heir was so
 much hated, had reason to be desirous of issue,
 which might quiet the jealous fears of his people.
 This very hatred, which prevailed against the

duke, would much facilitate, he knew, any expedient that could be devised for the exclusion of that prince: and nothing farther seemed requisite for the king, than to give way in this particular to the rage and fury of the nation. But Charles, notwithstanding all allurements of pleasure, or interest, or safety, had the generosity to protect his injured consort. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not see an innocent woman abused¹⁰." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants; and this daring informer was obliged to make applications to parliament, in order to recover his liberty.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1678.

DURING this agitation of men's minds, the parliament gave new attention to the militia; a circumstance, which, even during times of greatest tranquillity, can never prudently be neglected. They passed a bill, by which it was enacted, that a regular militia should be kept in arms, during six weeks of the year, and a third part of them do duty every fortnight of that time. The popular leaders probably intended to make use of the general prejudices, and even to turn the arms of the people against the prince¹¹. But Charles refused his assent to the bill, and told the parliament, that he would not, were it for half an hour, part so far with the power of the sword:

¹⁰ North's Examen, p. 186.

¹¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 437.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.

But if they would contrive any other bill for ordering the militia, and still leave it in his power to assemble or dismiss them as he thought proper, he would willingly give it the royal assent. The commons, dissatisfied with this negative, though the king had never before employed that prerogative, immediately voted that all the new-levied forces should be disbanded. They passed a bill, granting money for that purpose; but to show their extreme jealousy of the crown, besides appropriating the money by the strictest clauses, they ordered it to be paid, not into the exchequer, but into the chamber of London. The lords demurred with regard to so extraordinary a clause, which threw a violent reflection on the king's ministers, and even on himself; and by that means the act remained in suspense.

Accusation
of Danby.

IT was no wonder, that the present ferment and credulity of the nation engaged men of infamous character and indigent circumstances to become informers; when persons of rank and condition could be tempted to give into that scandalous practice. Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower house; and without obtaining or asking the king's leave, he suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this measure, had taken care to secrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the house of commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, written in the beginning of the year, during the negotiations

negociations at Nimeguen for the general peace. C H A P.
LXVII.
1678.
 Montague was there directed to make a demand of money from France; or in other words, the king was willing secretly to sell his good offices to Lewis, contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even to those of his own kingdoms. The letter, among other particulars, contains these words: "In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects to have six millions of livres a year for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France; because it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in humor to give him any supplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum; but not for so long a time." Danby was so unwilling to engage in this negociation, that the king, to satisfy him, subjoined with his own hand these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Montague, who revealed this secret correspondence, had even the baseness to sell his base treachery at a high price to the French monarch¹².

THE commons were inflamed with this intelligence against Danby; and carrying their suspicions farther than the truth, they concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court; and that every step, which he had

¹² Appendix to Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.
VOL. XI. Y

C H A P. taken in conjunction with the allies, had been
LXVII. illusory and deceitful. Desirous of getting to the
1678. bottom of so important a secret, and being pushed
 by Danby's numerous enemies, they immediately
 voted an impeachment of high treason against that
 minister, and sent up six articles to the house of
 peers. These articles were: That he had traiter-
 ously engrossed to himself regal power, by giving
 instructions to his majesty's ambassadors, without
 the participation of the secretaries of state, or
 the privy-council: That he had traiterously en-
 deavoured to subvert the government, and in-
 troduce arbitrary power; and to that end, had
 levied and continued an army, contrary to act of
 parliament: That he had traiterously endeavour-
 ed to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects,
 by negotiating a disadvantageous peace with
 France, and procuring money for that purpose:
 That he was popishly affected, and had traiter-
 ously concealed, after he had notice, the late
 horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papists
 against his majesty's person and government:
 That he had wasted the king's treasure: And
 that he had, by indirect means, obtained several
 exorbitant grants from the crown.

His im-
 peachment.

It is certain, that the treasurer, in giving in-
 structions to an ambassador, had exceeded the
 bounds of his office; and as the genius of a
 monarchy, strictly limited, requires, that the
 proper minister should be answerable for every
 abuse of power, the commons, though they here

advanced a new pretension, might justify themselves by the utility, and even necessity of it. But in other respects their charge against Danby was very ill grounded. That minister made it appear to the house of lords, not only that Montague, the informer against him, had all along promoted the money-negotiations with France, but that he himself was ever extremely averse to the interests of that crown, which he esteemed pernicious to his master, and to his country. The French nation, he said, had always entertained, as he was certainly informed, the highest contempt, both of the king's person and government. His diligence, he added, in tracing and discovering the popish plot, was generally known; and if he had common sense, not to say common honesty, he would surely be anxious to preserve the life of a master, by whom he was so much favored. He had wasted no treasure, because there was no treasure to waste. And though he had reason to be grateful for the king's bounty, he had made more moderate acquisitions than were generally imagined, and than others in his office had often done, even during a shorter administration.

THE house of peers plainly saw, that, allowing all the charge of the commons to be true, Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward III; and though the words, *treason* and *traiterously*, had been carefully inserted in several articles, this appellation could not change the nature of things, or subject him to the penalties

C H A P. annexed to that crime. They refused, therefore, to commit Danby upon this irregular charge: The commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise, when the king, who had already seen sufficient instances of the ill-humor of the parliament, thought proper to prorogue them. This prorogation was soon after followed by a dissolution; a desperate remedy in the present disposition of the nation. But the disease, it must be owned, the king had reason to esteem desperate. The utmost rage had been discovered by the commons, on account of the popish plot; and their fury began already to point against the royal family, if not against the throne itself. The duke had been struck at in several motions: The treasurer had been impeached: All supply had been refused, except on the most disagreeable conditions: Fears, jealousies, and antipathies were every day multiplying in parliament: And though the people were strongly infected with the same prejudices, the king hoped, that, by dissolving the present cabals, a set of men might be chosen, more moderate in their pursuits, and less tainted with the virulence of faction.

Its character.

THUS came to a period a parliament, which had sitten during the whole course of this reign one year excepted. Its conclusion was very different from its commencement. Being elected during the joy and festivity of the restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royalists; who were disposed to support the crown by all the liberality, which the habits of that age would permit.

LXVII.
1678.

30th Dec.
Dissolution
of the long
parliament.

Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the king; and finding him still to persevere in a foreign interest, they proceeded to discover symptoms of the most refractory and most jealous disposition. The popish plot pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their dissolution, they seemed to be treading fast in the footsteps of the last long parliament, on whose conduct they threw at first such violent blame. In all their variations, they had still followed the opinions and prejudices of the nation; and ever seemed to be more governed by humor and party-views than by public interest, and more by public interest than by any corrupt or private influence.

C H 'A P.
LXVII.
1678.

DURING the sitting of the parliament, and after its prorogation and dissolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; and the courts of judicature, places, which, if possible, ought to be kept more pure from injustice than even national assemblies themselves, were strongly infected with the same party-rage and bigoted prejudices. Coleman, the most obnoxious of the conspirators, was first brought to his trial. His letters were produced against him. They contained, as he himself confessed, much indiscretion: But unless so far as it is illegal to be a zealous catholic, they seemed to prove nothing criminal, much less treasonable against him. Oates and Bedloe deposed, that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the jesuits,

Trial of
Coleman.

C H A P. LXVII. 1678. to be papal secretary of state, and had consented to the poisoning, shooting, and stabbing of the king: He had even, according to Oates's deposition, advanced a guinea to promote those bloody purposes. These wild stories were confounded with the projects contained in his letters; and Coleman received sentence of death. The sentence was soon after executed upon him¹³. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

Of Ireland. COLEMAN'S execution was succeeded by the trial of father Ireland, who, it is pretended, had signed, together with fifty jesuits, the great resolution of murdering the king. Grove and Pickering who had undertaken to shoot him, were tried at the same time. The only witnesses against the prisoners were still Oates and Bedloe. Ireland affirmed, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August last, a time when Oates's evidence made him in London. He proved his assertion by good evidence, and would have proved it by undoubted; had he not, most iniquitously, been debarred, while in prison, from all use of pen, ink, and paper, and denied the liberty of sending for witnesses. All these men, before their arraignment, were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and spectators; and to be a jesuit, or even a catholic, was of itself a sufficient proof of guilt. The chief justice¹⁴

¹³ 3d of December,

¹⁴ Sir William Scroggs.

in particular, gave sanction to all the narrow prejudices and bigoted fury of the populace. Instead of being counsel for the prisoners, as his office required, he pleaded the cause against them, browbeat their witnesses, and on every occasion represented their guilt as certain and uncontroverted. He even went so far as publicly to affirm, that the papists had not the same principles which protestants have, and therefore were not entitled to that common *credence*, which the principles and practices of the latter call for. And when the jury brought in their verdict against the prisoners, he said, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good Protestants: And now much good may their 30,000 masses do them." Alluding to the masses, by which Pickering was to be rewarded for murdering the king. All these unhappy men went to execution, protesting their innocence: a circumstance, which made no impression on the spectators. The opinion, that the jesuits allowed of lies and mental reservations for promoting a good cause, was at this time so universally received, that no credit was given to testimony delivered either by that order, or by any of their disciples. It was forgotten, that all the conspirators, engaged in the gun-powder treason, and Garnet, the jesuit, among the rest, had freely on the scaffold made confession of their guilt.

C H A P.
LXVII.

1679.
14th Jan.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

THOUGH Bedloe had given information of Godfrey's murder, he still remained a single evidence against the persons accused; and all the allurements of profit and honor had not hitherto tempted any one to confirm the testimony of that informer. At last, means were found to complete the legal evidence. One Prance, a silversmith, and a catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in the murder; and upon his denial had been thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness. Such rigors were supposed to be exercised by orders from the secret committee of lords, particularly Shaftesbury and Buckingham; who, in examining the prisoners, usually employed (as is said, and indeed sufficiently proved) threatenings and promises, rigor and indulgence, and every art, under pretence of extorting the truth from them. Prance had not courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. Being asked concerning the plot, he also thought proper to be acquainted with it, and conveyed some intelligence to the council. Among other absurd circumstances, he said that one Le Fevre bought a second-hand sword of him; because he knew not, as he said, what times were at hand: And Prance expressing some concern for poor tradesmen, if such times came; Le Fevre replied, that it would be better for tradesmen, if the catholic religion were restored: And particularly,

that there would be more church work for silversmiths. All this information, with regard to the plot as well as the murder of Godfrey, Prance solemnly retracted, both before the king and the secret committee: But being again thrown into prison, he was induced, by new terrors and new sufferings, to confirm his first information, and was now produced as a sufficient evidence.

HILL, Green, and Berry were tried for Godfrey's murder; all of them men of low stations. Hill was servant to a physician: The other two belonged to the popish chapel at Somerset-house. It is needless to run over all the particulars of a long trial: It will be sufficient to say, that Bedloe's evidence and Prance's were in many circumstances totally irreconcilable; that both of them labored under unfurmountable difficulties, not to say gross absurdities; and that they were invalidated by contrary evidence, which is altogether convincing. But all was in vain: The prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable: But, instead of its giving some check to the general credulity of the people, men were only surpris'd, that a protestant could be induced at his death to persist in so manifest a falsehood.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor disbanded without money, the king, how little hopes soever he could entertain of more compliance, found himself obliged to summon a new

C H A P.
LXVII.
1679.

Feb. 21st
and 28th.

New elections.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

parliament. The blood, already shed on account of the popish plot, instead of fatiating the people, served only as an incentive to their fury; and each conviction of a criminal was hitherto regarded as a new proof of those horrible designs, imputed to the papists. This election is perhaps the first in England, which, since the commencement of the monarchy, had been carried on by a violent contest between the parties, and where the court interested itself to a high degree, in the choice of the national representatives. But all its efforts were fruitless, in opposition to the torrent of prejudices, which prevailed. Religion, liberty, property, even the lives of men were now supposed to be at stake; and no security, it was thought, except in a vigilant parliament, could be found against the impious and bloody conspirators. Were there any part of the nation, to which the ferment, occasioned by the popish plot, had not as yet propagated itself; the new elections, by interesting the whole people in public concerns, tended to diffuse it into the remotest corner; and the consternation, universally excited, proved an excellent engine for influencing the electors. All the zealots of the former parliament were re-chosen: New ones were added: The presbyterians in particular, being transported with the most inveterate antipathy against popery, were very active and very successful in the elections. That party, it is said, first began at this time the abuse of splitting their freeholds, in order to multiply votes and

electors. By accounts, which came from every part of England, it was concluded, that the new representatives would, if possible, exceed the old in their refractory opposition to the court, and furious persecution of the catholics.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

THE king was alarmed, when he saw so dreadful a tempest arise from such small and unaccountable beginnings. His life, if Oates and Bedloe's information were true, had been aimed at by the catholics: Even the duke's was in danger: The higher, therefore, the rage mounted against popery, the more should the nation have been reconciled to these princes, in whom, it appeared, the church of Rome reposed no confidence. But there is a sophistry, which attends all the passions; especially those into which the populace enter. Men gave credit to the informers, so far as concerned the guilt of the catholics: But they still retained their old suspicions, that these religionists were secretly favored by the king, and had obtained the most entire ascendant over his brother. Charles had too much penetration not to see the danger, to which the succession, and even his own crown and dignity, now stood exposed. A numerous party, he found, was formed against him; on the one hand, composed of a populace, so credulous from prejudice, so blinded with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the most palpable absurdities; and conducted, on the other hand, by leaders so little scrupulous, as to endeavour,

C H A P. LXVII. 1679. by encouraging perjury, subornation, lies, impostures, and even by shedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and subvert all legal authority. Roused from his lethargy by so eminent a peril, he began to exert that vigor of mind, of which, on great occasions, he was not destitute; and without quitting in appearance his usual facility of temper, he collected an industry, firmness, and vigilance, of which he was believed altogether incapable. These qualities, joined to dexterity and prudence, conducted him happily through the many shoals, which surrounded him; and he was at last able to make the storm fall on the heads of those who had blindly raised, or artfully conducted it.

ONE chief step, which the king took, towards gratifying and appeasing his people and parliament, was, desiring the duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion might remain of the influence of popish counsels. The duke readily complied; but first required an order for that purpose, signed by the king; lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He also desired, that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth.

Duke of
Monmouth.

JAMES duke of Monmouth was the king's natural son by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities, which could engage the affections

of the populace, a distinguished valor, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. He rose still higher in the public favor, by reason of the universal hatred, to which the duke, on account of his religion, was exposed. Monmouth's capacity was mean; his temper pliant: So that, notwithstanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly resigned himself to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of such a restless temper, such subtle wit, and such abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage, passed between the king and Monmouth's mother, and secretly kept in a certain *black box*, had been industriously spread abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude. As the horrors of popery still pressed harder on them, they might be induced, either to adopt that fiction, as they had already done many others more incredible, or to commit open violation on the right of succession. And it would not be difficult, it was hoped, to persuade the king, who was extremely fond of his son, to give him the preference above a brother, who, by his imprudent bigotry, had involved him in such inextricable difficulties: But Charles, in order to cut off all such expectations, as well as to remove the duke's apprehensions, took care, in full council, to make a declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, and to deny all promise

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

C H A P. of marriage with his mother. The duke, being
LXVII. gratified in so reasonable a request, willingly
 1679. complied with the king's desire, and retired to
 Duke of Bruffels.
 York retires
 to Bruffels.
 6th March.
 New parlia-
 ment.

BUT the king soon found, that, notwithstanding this precaution, notwithstanding his concurrence in the prosecution of the popish plot, notwithstanding the zeal which he expressed, and even at this time exercised against the catholics; he had no wise obtained the confidence of his parliament. The refractory humor of the lower house appeared in the first step, which they took upon their assembling. It had ever been usual for the commons, in the election of their speaker, to consult the inclinations of the Sovereign; and even the long parliament in 1641 had not thought proper to depart from so established a custom. The king now desired, that the choice should fall on Sir Thomas Meres: But Seymour, speaker to the last parliament, was instantly called to the chair, by a vote which seemed unanimous. The king, when Seymour was presented to him for his approbation, rejected him, and ordered the commons to proceed to a new choice. A great flame was excited. The commons maintained, that the king's approbation was merely a matter of form, and that he could not, without giving a reason, reject the speaker chosen: The king, that, since he had the power of rejecting, he might, if he pleased, keep the reason in his own breast. As the

question had never before been started, it might seem difficult to find principles, upon which it could be decided¹¹. By way of compromise, it was agreed to set aside both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer, was chosen; and the election was ratified by the king. It has ever since been understood, that the choice of the speaker lies in the house; but that the king retains the power of rejecting any person disagreeable to him.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1679.

SEYMOUR was deemed a great enemy to Danby; and it was the influence of that nobleman, as commonly supposed, which had engaged the king to enter into this ill-timed controversy with the commons. The impeachment, therefore, of Danby was on that account the sooner revived; and it was maintained by the commons, that notwithstanding the intervening dissolution, every part of that proceeding stood in the same condition in which it had been left by the last parliament: A pretension, which, though unusual, seems tacitly to have been yielded them. The king had before hand had the precaution to

Danby's im-
peachment.

¹¹ In 1566, the speaker said to Q. Elizabeth, that without her allowance the election of the house was of no significance. D'Ewes's Journal, p. 97. In the parliament 1592, 1593, the speaker, who was Sir Edward Coke, advances a like position. D'Ewes, p. 459. Townshend, p. 35. So that this pretension of the commons seems to have been somewhat new; like many of their other powers and privileges.

C H A P. grant a pardon to Danby; and, in order to
 LXVII. screen the chancellor from all attacks by the
 1679. commons, he had taken the great seal into his
 own hands, and had himself affixed it to the
 parchment. He told the parliament, that, as
 Danby had acted in every thing by his orders,
 he was in no respect criminal; that his pardon,
 however, he would insist upon; and if it should
 be found any wise defective in form, he would
 renew it again and again, till it should be ren-
 dered entirely complete: But that he was resolv-
 ed to deprive him of all employments, and to
 remove him from court.

THE commons were nowise satisfied with
 this concession. They pretended, that no pardon
 of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an
 impeachment by the commons. The prerogative
 of mercy had hitherto been understood to be
 altogether unlimited in the king; and this pre-
 tension of the commons, it must be confessed,
 was entirely new. It was however not unsuitable
 to the genius of a monarchy, strictly limited;
 where the king's ministers are supposed to be
 for ever accountable to national assemblies, even
 for such abuses of power as they may commit
 by orders from their master. The present emer-
 gency, while the nation was so highly inflamed,
 was the proper time for pushing such popular
 claims; and the commons failed not to avail
 themselves of this advantage. They still insisted
 on the impeachment of Danby. The peers, in
 compliance with them, departed from their former
 scruples,

scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby absconded. The commons passed a bill, appointing him to surrender himself before a certain day, or, in default of it, attainting him. A bill had passed the upper house, mitigating the penalty to banishment; but after some conferences, the peers thought proper to yield to the violence of the commons; and the bill of attainder was carried. Rather than undergo such severe penalties, Danby appeared, and was immediately committed to the Tower.

C H A P.
LXVII.

1679

WHILE a protestant nobleman met with such violent prosecution, it was not likely that the catholics would be over-looked by the zealous commons. The credit of the popish plot still stood upon the oaths of a few infamous witnesses. Though such immense preparations were supposed to have been made in the very bowels of the kingdom, no traces of them, after the most rigorous inquiry, had as yet appeared. Though so many thousands, both abroad and at home, had been engaged in the dreadful secret; neither hope, nor fear, nor remorse, nor levity, nor suspicions, nor private resentment had engaged any one to confirm the evidence. Though the catholics, particularly the Jesuits, were represented as guilty of the utmost indiscretion, insomuch that they talked of the king's murder as common news, and wrote of it in plain terms by the common post; yet, among the great number of letters seized, no one contained any part of so complicated a conspiracy. Though the informers

Popish plot.

C H A P. pretended, that, even after they had resolved to
 LXVII. betray the secret, many treasonable commissions
 1679. and papers had passed through their hands; they
 had not had the precaution to keep any one of
 them, in order to fortify their evidence. But all
 these difficulties, and a thousand more, were not
 found too hard of digestion by the nation and
 parliament. The prosecution and farther discovery
 of the plot were still the object of general con-
 cern. The commons voted, that, if the king
 should come to an untimely end, they would
 revenge his death upon the papists; not reflecting
 that this sect were not his only enemies. They
 promised rewards to new discoverers; not con-
 sidering the danger, which they incurred, of
 granting bribes to perjury. They made Bedloe
 a present of 500 pounds; and particularly recom-
 mended the care of his safety to the duke of
 Monmouth. Colonel Sackville, a member, hav-
 ing, in a private company, spoken opprobriously
 of those who affirmed that there was any plot, was
 expelled the house. The peers gave power to their
 committees to send for and examine such as
 would maintain the innocence of those who had
 been condemned for the plot. A pamphlet hav-
 ing been published to discredit the informers,
 and to vindicate the catholic lords in the Tower,
 these lords were required to discover the author,
 and thereby to expose their own advocate to
 prosecution. And both houses concurred in
 renewing the former vote, that the papists had
 undoubtedly entered into a *horrid and treasonable*

conspiracy against the king, the state, and the protestant religion.

C H A P.

LXVII.

It must be owned, that this extreme violence, in prosecution of so absurd an imposture, disgraces the noble cause of liberty, in which the parliament was engaged. We may even conclude from such impatience of contradiction, that the prosecutors themselves retained a secret suspicion, that the general belief was but ill grounded. The politicians among them were afraid to let in light, lest it might put an end to so useful a delusion: The weaker and less dishonest party took care, by turning their eyes aside, not to see a truth, so opposite to those furious passions, by which they were actuated, and in which they were determined obstinately to persevere.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE had lately been recalled from his foreign employments; and the king, who, after the removal of Danby, had no one with whom he could so much as discourse with freedom of public affairs, was resolved, upon Coventry's dismissal, to make him one of his secretaries of state. But that philosophical patriot, too little interested for the intrigues of a court, too full of spleen and delicacy for the noisy turbulence of popular assemblies, was alarmed at the universal discontents and jealousies, which prevailed, and was determined to make his retreat, as soon as possible, from a scene which threatened such confusion. Meanwhile, he could not refuse the confidence, with which his master honored him; and he resolved to employ it to

C H A P.
LXVII.
1679.

the public service. He represented to the king, that, as the jealousies of the nation were extreme, it was necessary to cure them by some new remedy, and to restore that mutual confidence, so requisite for the safety both of king and people: That to refuse every thing to the parliament in their present disposition, or to yield every thing, was equally dangerous to the constitution as well as to public tranquillity: That if the king would introduce into his councils such men as enjoyed the confidence of his people, fewer concessions would probably be required; or if unreasonable demands were made, the king, under the sanction of such counsellors, might be enabled, with the greater safety, to refuse them: And that the heads of the popular party, being gratified with the king's favor, would probably abate of that violence by which they endeavoured at present to pay court to the multitude.

New coun-
cil.

THE king assented to these reasons; and, in concert with Temple, he laid the plan of a new privy-council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measure of importance. This council was to consist of thirty persons, and was never to exceed that number. Fifteen of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued, who, it was supposed, would adhere to the king, and, in case of any extremity, oppose the exorbitances of faction. The other half of the council was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of those who possessed chief

credit in both houses. And the king, in filling up the names of his new council, was well pleased to find, that the members, in land and offices, possessed to the amount of 300,000 pounds a-year; a sum nearly equal to the whole property of the house of commons, against whose violence the new council was intended as a barrier to the throne¹⁶.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1679.

THIS experiment was tried, and seemed at first to give some satisfaction to the public. The earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, son of that lord Capel who had been beheaded a little after the late king, was created treasurer in the room of Danby: The earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made secretary of state: Viscount Halifax, a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, industry, but subject to inquietude, and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. These three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himself more detached from public business, formed

¹⁶ Their names were: Prince Rupert, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord Finch, chancellor, earl of Shaftesbury, president, earl of Anglesea, privy seal, duke of Albemarle, duke of Monmouth, duke of Newcastle, duke of Lauderdale, duke of Ormond, marquis of Winchester, marquis of Worcester, earl of Arlington, earl of Salisbury, earl of Bridgwater, earl of Sunderland, earl of Essex, earl of Bath, viscount Fauconberg, viscount Halifax, bishop of London, lord Robarts, lord Hollis, lord Russel, lord Cavendish, secretary Coventry, Sir Francis North, chief justice, Sir Henry Capel, Sir John Ernley, Sir Thomas Chicheley, Sir William Temple, Edward Seymour, Henry Powle.

C H A P. a kind of cabinet council, from which all affairs
 LXVII. received their first digestion. Shaftesbury was
 1679. made president of the council; contrary to the
 advice of Temple, who foretold the consequence
 of admitting a man of so dangerous a character
 into any part of the public administration.

As Temple foresaw, it happened. Shaftesbury
 finding, that he possessed no more than the ap-
 pearance of court-favor, was resolved still to
 adhere to the popular party, by whose attachment
 he enjoyed an undisputed superiority in the
 lower house, and possessed great influence in the
 other. The very appearance of court-favor,
 empty as it was, tended to render him more
 dangerous. His partisans, observing the progress
 which he had already made, hoped, that he would
 soon acquire the entire ascendant; and he con-
 stantly flattered them, that if they persisted in
 their purpose, the king, from indolence, and
 necessity, and fondness for Monmouth, would at
 last be induced, even at the expense of his bro-
 ther's right, to make them every concession.

BESIDES, the antipathy to popery, as well as
 jealousy of the king and duke, had taken too
 fast possession of men's minds, to be removed
 by so feeble a remedy, as this new council, pro-
 jected by Temple. The commons, soon after the
 establishment of that council, proceeded so far
 as to vote unanimously, " That the duke of
 " York's being a papist, and the hopes of his
 " coming to the crown, had given the highest
 " countenance to the present conspiracies and

“ designs of the papists against the king and the
 “ protestant religion.” It was expected, that a
 bill for excluding him the throne would soon be
 brought in. To prevent this bold measure, the
 king concerted some limitations, which he pro-
 posed to the parliament. He introduced his plan
 by the following gracious expressions: “ And to
 “ show you, that, while you are doing your
 “ parts, my thoughts have not been misemployed,
 “ but that it is my constant care to do every
 “ thing, that may preserve your religion, and
 “ secure it for the future in all events, I have
 “ commanded my lord chancellor to mention
 “ several particulars; which, I hope, will be an
 “ evidence, that, in all things, which concern
 “ the public security, I shall not follow your
 “ zeal, but lead it.”

C H A P.
 LXVII.
 1679.

THE limitations projected were of the utmost importance, and deprived the successor of the chief branches of royalty. A method was there chalked out, by which the nation, on every new reign, could be ensured of having a parliament, which the king should not, for a certain time, have it in his power to dissolve. In case of a popish successor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any ecclesiastical preferments: No member of the privy council, no judge of the common law or in chancery, was to be put in or displaced but by consent of parliament: And the same precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties,

Limitations
 on a popish
 successor.

C H A P. and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor
 LXVII. of himself added, “ It is hard to invent another
 1679. “ restraint; considering how much the revenue
 “ will depend upon the consent of parliament,
 “ and how impossible it is to raise money without
 “ such consent. But yet, if any thing else can
 “ occur to the wisdom of parliament, which
 “ may farther secure religion and liberty against
 “ a popish successor, without defeating the right
 “ of succession itself, his majesty will readily con-
 “ sent to it.”

It is remarkable, that, when these limitations were first laid before the council, Shaftesbury and Temple were the only members, who argued against them. The reasons, which they employed, were diametrically opposite. Shaftesbury's opinion was, that the restraints were insufficient; and that nothing but the total exclusion of the duke could give a proper security to the kingdom. Temple on the other hand thought, that the restraints were so rigorous as even to subvert the constitution; and that shackles, put upon a popish successor, would not afterwards be easily cast off by a protestant. It is certain, that the duke was extremely alarmed when he heard of this step taken by the king, and that he was better pleased even with the bill of exclusion itself, which, he thought, by reason of its violence and injustice, could never possibly be carried into execution. There is also reason to believe, that the king would not have gone so far, had he not expected, from the extreme fury of the commons, that his

concessions would be rejected, and that the blame of not forming a reasonable accommodation would by that means lie entirely at their door.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1679.

It soon appeared, that Charles had entertained a just opinion of the dispositions of the house. So much were the commons actuated by the cabals of Shaftesbury and other malecontents; such violent antipathy prevailed against popery, that the king's concessions, though much more important than could reasonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; that all acts of royalty, which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he so much as entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title, should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied banishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

Bill of ex-
clusion.

THE commons were not so wholly employed about the exclusion-bill as to overlook all other securities to liberty. The country-party, during all the last parliament, had much exclaimed against the bribery and corruption of the members; and the same reproach had been renewed against the present parliament. An inquiry was made into

C H A P. a complaint, which was so dangerous to the
 LXVII. honor of that assembly; but very little foundation
 1679. was found for it. Sir Stephen Fox, who was the
 pay-master, confessed to the house, that nine
 members received pensions to the amount of three
 thousand four hundred pounds: And after a
 rigorous inquiry by a secret committee, eight
 more pensioners were discovered. A sum also,
 about twelve thousand pounds, had been occa-
 sionally given or lent to others. The writers of
 that age pretend, that Clifford and Danby had
 adopted opposite maxims with regard to pecuniary
 influence. The former endeavoured to gain the
 leaders and orators of the house, and deemed
 the others of no consequence. The latter thought
 it sufficient to gain a majority, however composed.
 It is likely, that the means, rather than the in-
 tention, were wanting to both these ministers.

PENSIONS and bribes, though it be difficult
 entirely to exclude them, are dangerous expedients
 for government: and cannot be too carefully
 guarded against, nor too vehemently decried by
 every one who has a regard to the virtue and
 liberty of a nation. The influence, however, which
 the crown acquires from the disposal of places,
 honors, and preferments, is to be esteemed of a
 different nature. This engine of power may be-
 come too forcible, but it cannot altogether be
 abolished, without the total destruction of mo-
 narchy, and even of all regular authority. But
 the commons at this time were so jealous of the
 crown, that they brought in a bill, which was

twice read, excluding from the lower house all who possessed any lucrative office.

C H A P.
LXVII.

THE standing army and the king's guards were by the commons voted to be illegal: A new pretension, it must be confessed; but necessary for the full security of liberty and a limited constitution.

1679.

ARBITRARY imprisonment is a grievance, which, in some degree, has place almost in every government, except in that of Great Britain; and our absolute security from it we owe chiefly to the present parliament; a merit, which makes some atonement for the faction and violence, into which their prejudices had, in other particulars, betrayed them. The great charter had laid the foundation of this valuable part of liberty; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting, to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *habeas corpus*, which passed this session, served these purposes. By this act, it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the gaoler was directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ has its name), and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days; and so proportionably for greater distances: Every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent

Habeas cor-
pus bill.

C H A P. term. And no man, after being enlarged by order
 LXVII. of court, can be recommitted for the same offence.
 1679. This law seems necessary for the protection of
 liberty in a mixed monarchy; and as it has not
 place in any other form of government, this
 consideration alone may induce us to prefer our
 present constitution to all others. It must, however,
 be confessed, that there is some difficulty to
 reconcile with such extreme liberty the full security
 and the regular police of a state, especially the
 police of great cities. It may also be doubted,
 whether the low state of the public revenue in
 this period, and of the military power, did not
 still render some discretionary authority in the
 crown necessary to the support of government.

DURING these zealous efforts for the protection
 of liberty, no complaisance for the crown was
 discovered by this parliament. The king's revenue
 lay under great debts and anticipations: Those
 branches, granted in the years 1669 and 1670,
 were ready to expire. And the fleet was repre-
 sented by the king as in great decay and disorder.
 But the commons, instead of being affected by
 these distresses of the crown, trusted chiefly to
 them for passing the exclusion-bill, and for
 punishing and displacing all the ministers who
 were obnoxious to them. They were therefore
 in no haste to relieve the king; and grew only
 the more assuming on account of his complaints
 and uneasiness. Jealous however of the army,
 they granted the same sum of 206,000 pounds,
 which had been voted for disbanding it by the

last parliament; though the vote, by reason of the subsequent prorogation and dissolution, joined to some scruples of the lords, had not been carried into an act. This money was appropriated by very strict clauses; but the commons insisted not as formerly upon its being paid into the chamber of London.

C H A P.
LXVII.
1679.

THE impeachment of the five popish lords in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with vigor. The power of this minister, and his credit with the king, rendered him extremely obnoxious to the popular leaders; and the commons hoped, that, if he were pushed to extremity, he would be obliged, in order to justify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which they suspected to contain a secret of the most dangerous nature. The king, on his part, apprehensive of the same consequences, and desirous to protect his minister, who was become criminal merely by obeying orders, employed his whole interest to support the validity of that pardon, which had been granted him. The lords appointed a day for the examination of the question, and agreed to hear counsel on both sides: But the commons would not submit their pretensions to the discussion of argument and inquiry. They voted, that whoever should presume, without their leave, to maintain before the house of peers the validity of Danby's pardon, should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of the English commons. And they made a demand, that the bishops,

C H A P. whom they knew to be devoted to the court,
 LXVII. should be removed, not only when the trial of
 1679. the earl should commence, but also when the
 validity of his pardon should be discussed.

THE bishops before the reformation had always enjoyed a seat in parliament: But so far were they anciently from regarding that dignity as a privilege, that they affected rather to form a separate order in the state, independent of the civil magistrate, and accountable only to the pope and to their own order. By the constitutions, however, of Clarendon, enacted during the reign of Henry II. they were obliged to give their presence in parliament; but as the canon law prohibited them from assisting in capital trials, they were allowed in such cases the privilege of absenting themselves. A practice, which was at first voluntary, became afterwards a rule; and on the earl of Strafford's trial, the bishops, who would gladly have attended, and who were no longer bound by the canon law, were yet obliged to withdraw. It had been usual for them to enter a protest, asserting their right to sit; and this protest, being considered as a mere form, was always admitted and disregarded. But here was started a new question of no small importance. The commons, who were now enabled, by the violence of the people, and the necessities of the crown, to make new acquisitions of powers and privileges, insisted, that the bishops had no more title to vote in the question of the earl's pardon than in the impeachment itself. The bishops

asserted, that the pardon was merely a preliminary; and that, neither by the canon law nor the practice of parliament, were they ever obliged, in capital cases, to withdraw till the very commencement of the trial itself. If their absence were considered as a privilege, which was its real origin, it depended on their own choice, how far they would insist upon it. If regarded as a diminution of their right of peerage, such unfavorable customs ought never to be extended beyond the very circumstance established by them; and all arguments, from a pretended parity of reason, were in that case of little or no authority.

C H A P.
LXVII.
169.

THE house of lords was so much influenced by these reasons, that they admitted the bishops' right to vote, when the validity of the pardon should be examined. The commons insisted still on their withdrawing; and thus a quarrel being commenced between the two houses, the king, who expected nothing but fresh instances of violence from this parliament, began to entertain thoughts of laying hold of so favorable a pretence, and of finishing the session by a prorogation. While in this disposition, he was alarmed with sudden intelligence, that the house of commons was preparing a remonstrance, in order to inflame the nation still farther upon the favorite topics of the plot and of popery. He hastened, therefore, to execute his intention, even without consulting his new council, by whose advice he had promised to regulate his whole conduct. And thus were disappointed all the projects of the malecon-

27th May.

C H A P. tents, who were extremely enraged at this vigorous
LXVII. measure of the king's. Shaftesbury publicly threat-
1679. ened, that he would have the head of whoever
 had advised it. The parliament was soon after
 dissolved without advice of council; and writs
 were issued for a new parliament. The king was
 willing to try every means, which gave a prospect
 of more compliance in his subjects; and, in case
 of failure, the blame, he hoped, would lie on
 those whose obstinacy forced him to extremities.

Prorogation
and dissolution
of the
parliament,
10th July.

Trial and
execution of
the five je-
suits.

BUT even during the recess of parliament, there
 was no interruption to the prosecution of the
 catholics accused of the plot: The king found
 himself obliged to give way to this popular fury.
 Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, Fenwic,
 Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of
 the same order, were first brought to their trial.
 Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new
 witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man
 had been steward to lord Aston, and, though
 poor, possessed a character somewhat more re-
 putable than the other two: But his account of
 the intended massacres and assassinations was
 equally monstrous and incredible. He even
 asserted, that 200,000 papists in England were
 ready to take arms. The prisoners proved by
 sixteen witnesses from St. Omers, students and
 most of them young men of family, that Oates
 was in that seminary, at the time when he swore
 that he was in London: But as they were catholics
 and disciples of the jesuits, their testimony, both
 with the judges and jury, was totally disregarded.

Even

Even the reception, which they met with in court, was full of outrage and mockery. One of them saying, that Oates always continued at St. Omers, if he could believe his senses: "You papists," said the chief justice, "are taught not to believe your senses." It must be confessed, that Oates, in opposition to the students of St. Omers, found means to bring evidence of his having been at that time in London: But this evidence, though it had, at that time, the appearance of some solidity, was afterwards discovered, when Oates himself was tried for perjury, to be altogether deceitful. In order farther to discredit that witness, the jesuits proved by undoubted testimony, that he had perjured himself in father Ireland's trial, whom they showed to have been in Staffordshire at the very time when Oates swore that he was committing treason in London. But all these pleas availed them nothing against the general prejudices. They received sentence of death; and were executed, persisting to their last breath in the most solemn, earnest, and deliberate, though disregarded, protestations of their innocence.

THE next trial was that of Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the jesuits were managed. Oates and Bedloe swore, that all the papal commissions by which the chief offices in England were filled with catholics, passed through his hands. When verdict was given against the prisoner, the spectators expressed their savage joy by loud acclamations.

C H A P. LXVII. 1679. So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witnesses for this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were almost torn in pieces by the rabble: One in particular was bruised to such a degree, as to put his life in danger. And another, a woman, declared, that, unless the court could afford her protection, she durst not give evidence: But as the judges could go no farther than promise to punish such as should do her any injury, the prisoner himself had the humanity to wave her testimony.

Wakeman
acquitted.
18th July.

So far the informers had proceeded with success: Their accusation was hitherto equivalent to a sentence of death. The first check which they received, was on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, whom they accused of an intention to poison the king. It was a strong circumstance in favor of Wakeman, that Oates, in his first information before the council, had accused him only upon hearsay; and when asked by the chancellor, whether he had any thing farther to charge him with, he added, "God forbid I should say any thing against Sir George: For I know nothing more against him." On the trial he gave positive evidence of the prisoner's guilt. There were many other circumstances which favored Wakeman: But what chiefly contributed to his acquittal, was the connexion of his cause with that of the queen, whom no one, even during the highest prejudices of the times, could sincerely believe guilty. The great importance of the trial made men recollect

themselves, and recal that good sense and humanity, which seemed, during some time, to have abandoned the nation. The chief justice himself, who had hitherto favored the witnesses, exaggerated the plot, and railed against the prisoners, was observed to be considerably mollified, and to give a favorable charge to the jury. Oates and Bedloe had the assurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuse him of partiality before the council. The whole party, who had formerly much extolled his conduct, now made him the object of their resentment. Wakeman's acquittal was indeed a sensible mortification to the furious prosecutors of the plot, and fixed an indelible stain upon the witnesses. But Wakeman, after he recovered his liberty, finding himself exposed to such inveterate enmity, and being threatened with farther prosecutions, thought it prudent to retire beyond sea: And his flight was interpreted as a proof of guilt, by those who were still resolved to persist in the belief of the conspiracy.

THE great discontents in England, and the refractory disposition of the parliament, drew the attention of the Scottish covenanters, and gave them a prospect of some time putting an end to those oppressions, under which they had so long labored. It was suspected to have been the policy of Lauderdale and his associates to push these unhappy men to extremities, and force them into rebellion, with a view of reaping profit from the forfeitures and attainders, which would ensue upon it. But the covenanters, aware of this

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

State of af-
fairs in
Scotland.

C H A P. policy, had hitherto forborn all acts of hostility;
 LXVII. and that tyrannical minister had failed of his
 1679. purpose. An incident at last happened, which
 brought on an insurrection in that country.

3d May.

THE covenanters were much enraged against Sharpe, the primate, whom they considered as an apostate from their principles, and whom they experienced to be an unrelenting persecutor of all those who dissented from the established worship. He had an officer under him, one Carmichael, no less zealous than himself against conventicles, and who by his violent prosecutions had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the fanatics. A company of these had way-laid him on the road near St. Andrews, with an intention, if not of killing him, at least of chastising him so severely as would afterwards render him more cautious in persecuting the nonconformists¹⁷. While looking out for their prey, they were surprised at seeing the archbishop's coach pass by; and they immediately interpreted this incident as a declaration of the secret purpose of providence against him. But when they observed, that almost all his servants, by some accident, were absent, they no longer doubted, but heaven had here delivered their capital enemy into their hands. Without farther deliberation, they fell upon him; dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with cries and tears;

¹⁷ Wodrow's History of the sufferings of the church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 28.

and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and immediately dispersed themselves.

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

THIS atrocious action served the ministry as a pretence for a more violent persecution against the fanatics, on whom, without distinction, they threw the guilt of those furious assassins. It is indeed certain, that the murder of Sharpe had excited an universal joy among the covenanters, and that their blind zeal had often led them, in their books and sermons, to praise and recommend the assassination of their enemies, whom they considered as the enemies of all true piety and godliness. The stories of Jael and Sisera, of Ehud and Eglon, resounded from every pulpit. The officers, quartered in the west, received more strict orders to find out and disperse all conventicles; and for that reason the covenanters, instead of meeting in small bodies, were obliged to celebrate their worship in numerous assemblies, and to bring arms for their security. At Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow, they openly set forth a declaration against prelacy; and in the market-place burned several acts of parliament and acts of council, which had established that mode of ecclesiastical government, and had prohibited conventicles. For this insult on the supreme authority, they purposely chose the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration; and previously extinguished the bonfires, which had been kindled for that solemnity.

CAPTAIN Graham, afterwards viscount Dundee,

C H A P. an active and enterprising officer, attacked a
 LXVII. great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, and was re-
 1679. pulsed with the loss of thirty men. The cove-
 nanTERS, finding that they were unwarily involved
 in such deep guilt, were engaged to persevere,
 and to seek, from their valor and fortune alone,
 for that indemnity, which the severity of the
 government left them no hopes of ever being
 able otherwise to obtain. They pushed on to
 Glasgow; and though at first repulsed, they after-
 wards made themselves masters of that city; dis-
 possessed the established clergy; and issued pro-
 clamations, in which they declared, that they
 fought against the king's supremacy, against po-
 pery and prelacy, and against a popish successor.

How accidental soever this insurrection might
 appear, there is reason to suspect, that some
 great men, in combination with the popular
 leaders in England, had secretly instigated the
 covenanters to proceed to such extremities¹⁸,
 and hoped for the same effects that had forty
 years before ensued from the disorders in Scot-
 land. The king also, apprehensive of like con-
 sequences, immediately dispatched thither Mon-
 mouth with a small body of English cavalry.
 That nobleman joined to these troops the Scottish
 guards, and some regiments of militia, levied
 from the well affected counties; and with great
 celerity marched in quest of the rebels. They
 had taken post near Bothwel-castle, between

Battle of
 Bothwel-
 bridge.

¹⁸ Algernon Sidney's letters, p. 90.

Hamilton and Glasgow ; where there was no access to them but over a bridge, which a small body was able to defend against the king's forces. They showed judgment in the choice of their post ; but discovered neither judgment nor valor in any other step of their conduct. No nobility and few gentry had joined them : The clergy were in reality the generals ; and the whole army never exceeded 8000 men. Monmouth attacked the bridge ; and the body of rebels, who defended it, maintained their post, as long as their ammunition lasted. When they sent for more, they received orders to quit their ground, and to retire backwards. This imprudent measure occasioned an immediate defeat to the covenanters. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition, and drew up his forces, opposite to the enemy. His cannon alone put them to rout. About seven hundred fell in the pursuit : For properly speaking there was no action. Twelve hundred were taken prisoners ; and were treated by Monmouth with a humanity, which they had never experienced in their own countrymen. Such of them as would promise to live peaceably were dismissed. About three hundred, who were so obstinate as to refuse this easy condition, were shipped for Barbadoes ; but unfortunately perished in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth was of a generous disposition ; and besides, aimed at popularity in Scotland. The king intended to intrust the government of that kingdom in his hands. He had married a Scottish lady, heir of

C H A P.

LXVII.

1679.

22d June.

C H A P. a great family, and allied to all the chief nobility.
 LXVII. And Lauderdale, as he was now declining in
 1679. his parts, and was much decayed in his memory,
 began to lose with the king that influence, which
 he had maintained during so many years; notwithstanding the efforts of his numerous enemies both in Scotland and England, and notwithstanding the many violent and tyrannical actions, of which he had been guilty. Even at present he retained so much influence as to poison all the good intentions, which the king, either of himself or by Monmouth's suggestion, had formed with regard to Scotland. An act of indemnity was granted; but Lauderdale took care, that it should be so worded as rather to afford protection to himself and his associates, than to the unhappy covenanters. And though orders were given to connive thenceforwards at all conventicles, he found means, under a variety of pretences, to elude the execution of them. It must be owned however to his praise, that he was the chief person, who, by his counsel, occasioned the expeditious march of the forces and the prompt orders given to Monmouth; and thereby disappointed all the expectations of the English malecontents, who, reflecting on the disposition of men's minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progress of the Scottish insurrection.

C H A P LXVIII.

State of parties — State of the ministry — Mealtub plot — Whig and Tory — A new parliament — Violence of the commons — Exclusion - bill — Arguments for and against the exclusion — Exclusion - bill rejected — Trial of Stafford — His execution — Violence of the commons — Dissolution of the parliament — New parliament at Oxford — Fitzharris's case — Parliament dissolved — Victory of the royalists.

THE king, observing that the whole nation concurred at first in the belief and prosecution of the popish plot, had found it necessary for his own safety to pretend, in all public speeches and transactions, an entire belief and acquiescence in that famous absurdity, and by this artifice he had eluded the violent and irresistible torrent of the people. When a little time and recollection, as well as the execution of the pretended conspirators, had somewhat moderated the general fury, he was now enabled to form a considerable party, devoted to the interests of the crown, and determined to oppose the pretensions of the malecontents.

IN every mixed government, such as that of England, the bulk of the nation will always incline to preserve the entire frame of the consti-

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1679.

State of
parties.

C H A P. LXVIII. 1679. tution ; but according to the various prejudices, interests, and dispositions of men, some will ever attach themselves with more passion to the regal, others to the popular part of the government. Though the king, after his restoration, had endeavoured to abolish the distinction of parties, and had chosen his ministers from among all denominations ; no sooner had he lost his popularity, and exposed himself to general jealousy, than he found it necessary to court the old cavalier-party, and to promise them full compensation for that neglect, of which they had hitherto complained. The present emergency made it still more necessary for him to apply for their support ; and there were many circumstances, which determined them, at this time, to fly to the assistance of the crown, and to the protection of the royal family.

A PARTY, strongly attached to monarchy, will naturally be jealous of the right of succession, by which alone, they believe, stability to be preserved in the government, and a barrier fixed against the encroachments of popular assemblies. The project, openly embraced, of excluding the duke, appeared to that party a dangerous innovation : And the design, secretly projected, of advancing Monmouth, made them apprehensive, lest the inconveniences of a disputed succession should be propagated to all posterity. While the jealous lovers of liberty maintained, that a king, whose title depended on the parliament, would naturally be more attentive to the interest, at

least to the humors of the people; the passionate admirers of monarchy considered all dependence as a degradation of kingly government, and a great step toward the establishment of a commonwealth in England.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1679.

BUT though his union with the political royalists brought great accession of force to the king, he derived no less support from the confederacy, which he had, at this time, the address to form with the church of England. He represented to the ecclesiastics the great number of presbyterians and other sectaries, who had entered into the popular party; the encouragement and favor which they met with; the loudness of their cries with regard to popery and arbitrary power. And he made the established clergy and their adherents apprehend, that the old scheme for the abolition of prelacy as well as monarchy was revived, and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which, during the civil wars and usurpations, they had so long been exposed.

THE memory also of those dismal times united many indifferent and impartial persons to the crown, and begat a dread lest the zeal for liberty should ingraft itself on fanaticism, and should once more kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Had not the king still retained the prerogative of dissolving the parliament, there was indeed reason to apprehend the renewal of all the pretensions and violences, which had ushered in the last commotions. The one period appeared an exact

C H A P. counter-part to the other : But still discerning
 LXVIII. judges could perceive, both in the spirit of the
 1679. parties and in the genius of the prince, a material
 difference ; by means of which Charles was
 enabled at last, though with the imminent peril
 of liberty, to preserve the peace of the nation.

THE cry against popery was loud ; but it proceeded less from religious than from party-zeal, in those who propagated, and even in those who adopted it. The spirit of enthusiasm had occasioned so much mischief, and had been so successfully exploded, that it was not possible, by any artifice, again to revive and support it. Cant had been ridiculed ; hypocrisy detected ; the pretensions to a more thorough reformation, and to greater purity, had become suspicious ; and instead of denominating themselves the *godly* party, the appellation affected at the beginning of the civil wars, the present patriots were content with calling themselves the *good* and the *honest* party¹ : A sure prognostic, that their measures were not to be so furious, nor their pretensions so exorbitant.

THE king too, though not endowed with the integrity and strict principles of his father, was happy in a more amiable manner, and more popular address. Far from being distant, stately, or reserved, he had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole composition² ; but was the most

¹ Temple, vol. i. p. 335.

² Temple, vol. i. p. 449.

affable, best bred man alive. He treated his subjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vassals or boors. His professions were plausible, his whole behaviour engaging; so that he won upon the hearts, even while he lost the good opinion of his subjects, and often balanced their judgment of things by their personal inclination³. In his public conduct likewise, though he had sometimes embraced measures dangerous to the liberty and religion of his people, he had never been found to persevere obstinately in them, but had always returned into that path, which their united opinion seemed to point out to him. And upon the whole, it appeared to many cruel and even iniquitous, to remark too rigorously the failings of a prince, who discovered so much facility in correcting his errors, and so much lenity in pardoning the offences committed against himself.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1679.

THE general affection, borne the king, appeared signally about this time. He fell sick at Windsor; and had two or three fits of a fever, so violent as made his life be thought in danger. A general consternation seized all ranks of men, increased by the apprehensions entertained of his successor. In the present disposition of men's minds, the king's death, to use an expression of sir William Temple⁴, was regarded as the end of the world. The malecontents, it was feared, would proceed to extremities, and immediately

³ Dissertation on parties, letter vii.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 342.

C H A P. LXVIII. 1679. State of the ministry. kindle a civil war in the kingdom. Either their entire success, or entire failure, or even the balance and contest of parties, seemed all of them events equally fatal. The king's chief counsellors, therefore, Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, who stood on bad terms with Shaftesbury and the popular party, advised him to send secretly for the duke, that, in case of any sinister accident, that prince might be ready to assert his right against the opposition, which he was likely to meet with. When the duke arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and it was agreed to conceal the invitation, which he had received. His journey, however, was attended with important consequences. He prevailed on the king to disgrace Monmouth, whose projects were now known and avowed; to deprive him of his command in the army; and to send him beyond sea. He himself returned to Brussels; but made a short stay in that place. He obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretence still of quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but in reality with a view of securing that kingdom in his interests.

2d Sept.

THOUGH Essex and Halifax had concurred in the resolution of inviting over the duke, they soon found, that they had not obtained his confidence, and that even the king, while he made use of their service, had no sincere regard for their persons. Essex in disgust resigned the treasury: Halifax retired to his country-seat: Temple, despairing of any accommodation among such

enraged parties, withdrew almost entirely to his books and his gardens. The king, who changed ministers as well as measures with great indifference, bestowed at this time his chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. Hyde succeeded Essex in the treasury.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1679.

ALL the king's ministers, as well as himself, were extremely averse to the meeting of the new parliament, which they expected to find as refractory as any of the preceding. The elections had gone mostly in favor of the country-party. The terrors of the plot had still a mighty influence over the populace; and the apprehensions of the duke's bigoted principles and arbitrary character weighed with men of sense and reflection. The king therefore resolved to prorogue the parliament, that he might try, whether time would allay those humors, which, by every other expedient, he had in vain attempted to mollify. In this measure he did not expect the concurrence of his council. He knew, that those popular leaders, whom he had admitted, would zealously oppose a resolution, which disconcerted all their schemes; and that the royalists would not dare, by supporting it, to expose themselves to the vengeance of the parliament, when it should be assembled. These reasons obliged him to take this step entirely of himself; and he only declared his resolution in council. It is remarkable, that, though the king had made profession never to embrace any measure without the advice of these counsellors, he had often broken that resolution, and had

C H A P. been necessitated, in affairs of the greatest consequence, to controul their opinion. Many of them in disgust threw up about this time; particularly lord Ruffel, the most popular man in the nation, as well from the mildness and integrity of his character, as from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Though carried into some excesses, his intentions were ever esteemed upright; and being heir to the greatest fortune in the kingdom, as well as void of ambition, men believed, that nothing but the last necessity could ever engage him to embrace any desperate measures. Shaftesbury, who was, in most particulars, of an opposite character, was removed by the king from the office of president of the council; and the earl of Radnor, a man who possessed whimsical talents and splenetic virtues, was substituted in his place.

LXVIII.

1679.

IT was the favor and countenance of the parliament, which had chiefly encouraged the rumor of plots; but the nation had gotten so much into that vein of credulity, and every necessitous villain was so much incited by the success of Oates and Bedloe, that, even during the prorogation, the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pillored four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to all the public infamy, which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities. The

credulity

credulity of the people, and the humor of the times enabled even this man to become a person of consequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the *meal-tub-plot*, from the place where some papers, relating to it, were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to discover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's presence and the king's. And that under pretence of revealing new popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat, is uncertain; or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: But he soon found, that the belief of the nation was more open to a popish than a presbyterian plot; and he resolved to strike in with the prevailing humor. Though no weight could be laid on his testimony, great clamor was raised; as if the court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the presbyterians with the guilt of a false conspiracy. It must be confessed, that the present period, by the prevalence and suspicion of such mean and ignoble arts on all sides, throws a great stain on the British annals.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1679.

Meal-tub
plot.

ONE of the most innocent artifices, practised by party men at this time, was the additional ceremony, pomp, and expense, with which a pope-burning was celebrated in London: The spectacle served to entertain, and amuse, and inflame the

17th Nov.

C H A P. populace. The duke of Monmouth likewise
 LXVIII. came over without leave, and made a triumphant
 procession through many parts of the kingdom,
 extremely carested and admired by the people.
 All these arts seemed requisite to support the
 general prejudices, during the long interval of
 parliament. Great endeavours were also used to
 obtain the king's consent for the meeting of that
 1680. assembly. Seventeen peers presented a petition to
 this purpose. Many of the corporations imitated
 the example. Notwithstanding several marks of
 displeasure, and even a menacing proclamation
 from the king, petitions came from all parts,
 earnestly insisting on a session of parliament. The
 danger of popery, and the terrors of the plot
 were never forgotten in any of these addresses.

TUMULTUOUS petitioning was one of the chief
 artifices by which the malecontents in the last
 reign had attacked the crown: And though the
 manner of subscribing and delivering petitions
 was now somewhat regulated by act of parliament,
 the thing itself still remained; and was an ad-
 mirable expedient for infesting the court, for
 spreading discontent, and for uniting the nation
 in any popular clamor. As the king found no
 law, by which he could punish those importunate,
 and, as he deemed them, undutiful solicitations,
 he was obliged to encounter them by popular
 applications of a contrary tendence. Wherever
 the church and court party prevailed, addresses
 were framed, containing expressions of the highest
 regard to his majesty, the most entire acquiescence

in his wisdom, the most dutiful submission to his prerogative, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those, who endeavoured to encroach upon it, by prescribing to him any time for assembling the parliament. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *petitioners* and *abhorrrers*. Factions indeed were at this time extremely animated against each other. The very names, by which each party denominated its antagonist, discover the virulence and rancor, which prevailed. For besides petitioner and abhorrer, appellations which were soon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY, by which, and sometimes without any material difference, this island has been so long divided. The court-party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of whigs: The country-party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of tory was affixed. And after this manner, these foolish terms of reproach came into public and general use; and even at present seem not nearer their end than when they were first invented.

THE king used every art to encourage his partisans, and to reconcile the people to his government. He persevered in the great zeal which he affected against popery. He even allowed several priests to be put to death, for no other crime than their having received orders in the Romish church. It is singular, that one of them, called

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.

Whig and
Tory.

C H A P. Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant
 LXVIII. for his immediate execution was notified to him:
 1630. He swore, that he would play out his set first. Charles, with the same view of acquiring popularity, formed an alliance with Spain, and also offered an alliance to Holland: But the Dutch, terrified with the great power of France, and seeing little resource in a country so distracted as England, declined acceptance. He had sent for the duke from Scotland, but desired him to return, when the time of assembling the parliament began to approach.

It was of great consequence to the popular party, while the meeting of parliament depended on the king's will, to keep the law, whose operations are perpetual, entirely on their side. The sheriffs of London by their office return the juries: It had been usual for the mayor to nominate one sheriff by drinking to him; and the common hall had ever without dispute confirmed the mayor's choice. Sir Robert Clayton, the mayor, appointed one who was not acceptable to the popular party: The common-hall rejected him; and Bethel and Cornish, two independents, and republicans, and of consequence deeply engaged with the malecontents, were chosen by a majority of voices. In spite of all remonstrances and opposition, the citizens persisted in their choice; and the court-party was obliged for the present to acquiesce.

JURIES however were not so partial in the city; but that reason and justice, even when the

popish plot was in question, could sometimes prevail. The earl of Castlemaine, husband to the dutchess of Cleveland, was acquitted about this time, though accused by Oates and Dangerfield of an intention to assassinate the king. Sir Thomas Gascoigne, a very aged gentleman in the north, being accused by two servants, whom he had dismissed for dishonesty, received a like verdict. These trials were great blows to the plot, which now began to stagger, in the judgment of most men, except those who were entirely devoted to the country-party. But in order still to keep alive the zeal against popery, the earl of Shaftesbury appeared in Westminster-hall, attended by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russel, Cavendish, Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Cooper, and other persons of distinction, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting the duke of York as a popish recusant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary presentment, the chief justice sent for them, and suddenly, even somewhat irregularly, dismissed them. Shaftesbury however obtained the end for which he had undertaken this bold measure: He showed to all his followers the desperate resolution, which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation or composition with the duke. By such daring conduct he gave them assurance, that he was fully determined not to desert their cause; and he engaged them

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1680.

23d June.

C H A P. to a like devoted perseverance in all the measures,
 LXVIII. which he should suggest to them.

1680.

1st. Jacob.
 A new par-
 liament.

As the kingdom was regularly and openly divided into two zealous parties, it was not difficult for the king to know, that the majority of the new house of commons was engaged in interests opposite to the court: But that he might leave no expedient untried, which could compose the unhappy differences among his subjects, he resolved, at last, after a long interval, to assemble the parliament. In his speech, he told them, that the several prorogations, which he had made, had been very advantageous to his neighbours, and very useful to himself: That he had employed that interval in perfecting with the crown of Spain an alliance, which had often been desired by former parliaments, and which, he doubted not, would be extremely agreeable to them: That, in order to give weight to this measure, and render it beneficial to Christendom, it was necessary to avoid all domestic dissensions, and to unite themselves firmly in the same views and purposes: That he was determined, that nothing on his part should be wanting to such a salutary end; and provided the succession were preserved in its due and legal course, he would concur in any expedient for the security of the protestant religion: That the farther examination of the popish plot and the punishment of the criminals were requisite for the safety both of king and kingdom: And after recommending to them the necessity of providing, by some sup-

plies, for the safety of Tangiers, he proceeded in these words: " But that which I value above all
 " the treasure in the world, and which I am
 " sure will give us greater strength and reputa-
 " tion both at home and abroad than any treasure
 " can do, is a perfect union among ourselves.
 " Nothing but this can restore the kingdom to
 " that strength and vigor which it seems to have
 " lost, and raise us again to that consideration,
 " which England hath usually possessed. All
 " Europe have their eyes upon this assembly, and
 " think their own happiness and misery, as well
 " as ours, will depend upon it. If we should be
 " so unhappy as to fall into misunderstandings
 " among ourselves to that degree as would ren-
 " der our friendship unsafe to trust to, it will not
 " be wondered at, if our neighbours should begin
 " to take new resolutions, and perhaps such as
 " may be fatal to us. Let us therefore take care,
 " that we do not gratify our enemies, and dis-
 " courage our friends, by any unseasonable dis-
 " putes. If any such do happen, the world will
 " see, that it is no fault of mine: For I have
 " done all that it was possible for me to do, to
 " keep you in peace, while I live, and to leave
 " you so, when I die. But from so great pru-
 " dence and so good affection as yours, I can
 " fear nothing of this kind; but do rely upon
 " you all, that you will do your best endeavours
 " to bring this parliament to a good and happy
 " conclusion. "

ALL these mollifying expressions had no influ-

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.
Violence of
the com-
mons.

ence with the commons. Every step, which they took, betrayed the zeal, with which they were animated. They voted, that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king for the calling and sitting of parliament. Not content with this decision, which seems justifiable in a mixed monarchy, they fell with the utmost violence on all those *abhorers*, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. They did not reflect, that it was as lawful for one party of men, as for another, to express their sense of public affairs; and that the best established right may, in particular circumstances, be abused, and even the exercise of it become an object of abhorrence. For this offence, they expelled Sir Thomas Withens. They appointed a committee for farther inquiry into such members as had been guilty of a like crime; and complaints were lodged against lord Paston, Sir Robert Malverer, Sir Bryan Stapleton, Taylor, and Turner. They addressed the king against Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, for his activity in the same cause; and they frightened him into a resignation of his office, in which he was succeeded by Sir George Treby, a great leader of the popular party. They voted an impeachment against North, chief justice of the common pleas, for drawing the proclamation against tumultuous petitions: But upon examination found the proclamation so cautiously worded, that it afforded them no handle against him. A petition had been presented to the king from

Taunton. "How dare you deliver me such a
 "paper?" said the king to the person who pre-
 sented it. "Sir," replied he, "my name is
 "DARE." For this saucy reply, but under other
 pretences, he had been tried, fined, and com-
 mitted to prison. The commons now addressed
 the king for his liberty and for remitting his fine.
 Some printers also and authors of seditious libels
 they took under their protection.

C H A P.
 LXVIII.
 1629.

GREAT numbers of the abhorers, from all
 parts of England, were seized by order of the
 commons, and committed to custody. The liberty
 of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded
 by the great charter, and by the late law of ha-
 beas corpus, was every day violated by their
 arbitrary and capricious commitments. The chief
 jealousy, it is true, of the English constitution is
 naturally and justly directed against the crown;
 nor indeed have the commons any other means
 of securing their privileges than by commitments,
 which, as they cannot beforehand be exactly
 determined by law, must always appear in some
 degree arbitrary. Sensible of these reasons, the
 people had hitherto, without murmuring, seen
 this discretionary power exercised by the house:
 But as it was now carried to excess, and was
 abused to serve the purposes of faction, great
 complaints against it were heard from all quarters.
 At last, the vigor and courage of one Stowel
 of Exeter, an abhorrer, put an end to the prac-
 tice. He refused to obey the serjeant at arms,
 stood upon his defence, and said that he knew of

C H A P. no law, by which they pretended to commit
 LXVIII. him. The house, finding it equally dangerous
 1680. to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion :
 They inserted in their votes, that Stowel was
 indisposed, and that a month's time was allowed
 him for the recovery of his health.

BUT the chief violence of the house of commons appeared in all their transactions with regard to the plot, which they prosecuted with the same zeal and the same credulity as their predecessors. They renewed the former vote, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popish plot; and, in order the more to terrify the people, they even asserted, that, notwithstanding the discovery, the plot still subsisted. They expelled Sir Robert Can, and Sir Robert Yeomans, who had been complained of, for saying, that there was no popish, but there was a presbyterian plot. And they greatly lamented the death of Bedloe, whom they called a material witness, and on whose testimony they much depended. He had been seized with a fever at Bristol; had sent for chief justice North; confirmed all his former evidence, except that with regard to the duke and the queen; and desired North to apply to the king for some money to relieve him in his necessities. A few days after, he expired; and the whole party triumphed extremely in these circumstances of his death: As if such a testimony could be deemed the affirmation of a dying man, as if his confession of perjury in some instances could assure his veracity in the rest, and,

as if the perseverance of one profligate could outweigh the last words of so many men, guilty of no crime but that of popery.

C H A T.
LXVIII.
1680.

THE commons even endeavoured, by their countenance and protection, to remove the extreme infamy, with which Dangerfield was loaded, and to restore him to the capacity of being an evidence. The whole tribe of informers they applauded and rewarded: Jennison, Turberville, Dugdale, Smith, la Faria, appeared before them; and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favorable reception: The king was applied to in their behalf for pensions and pardons: Their narratives were printed with that sanction, which arose from the approbation of the house: Dr. Tongue was recommended for the first considerable church preferment, which should become vacant. Considering men's determined resolution to believe, instead of admiring that a palpable falsehood should be maintained by witnesses, it may justly appear wonderful, that no better evidence was ever produced against the catholics.

THE principal reasons, which still supported the clamor of the popish plot, were the apprehensions entertained by the people, of the duke of York, and the resolution, embraced by their leaders, of excluding him from the throne. Shaftesbury and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves irreconcilable with him, and could find their safety no way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped, that the exclu-

Exclusion-
bill.

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1680.

tion of that prince would make way for their patron. The resentment against the duke's apostacy, the love of liberty, the zeal for religion, the attachment to faction; all these motives incited the country-party. And above all, what supported the resolution of adhering to the exclusion, and rejecting all other expedients offered, was the hope artfully encouraged, that the king would at last be obliged to yield to their demand. His revenues were extremely burdened; and even if free, could scarcely suffice for the necessary charges of government, much less for that pleasure and expense, to which he was inclined. Though he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occasion had he ever been found to persist obstinately against difficulties and importunity. And as his beloved mistress, the dutchess of Portsmouth, had been engaged, either from lucrative views, or the hopes of making the succession fall on her own children, to unite herself with the popular party; this incident was regarded as a favorable prognostic of their success. Sunderland, secretary of state, who had linked his interest with that of the dutchess, had concurred in the same measure.

BUT besides friendship for his brother and a regard to the right of succession, there were many strong reasons, which had determined Charles to persevere in opposing the exclusion. All the royalists and the devotees to the church; that party by which alone monarchy was supported;

regarded the right of succession as inviolable; and if abandoned by the king in so capital an article, it was to be feared, that they would, in their turn, desert his cause, and deliver him over to the pretensions and usurpations of the country-party. The country-party, or the whigs, as they were called, if they did not still retain some propensity towards a republic, were at least affected with a violent jealousy of regal power; and it was equally to be dreaded, that, being enraged with past opposition and animated by present success, they would, if they prevailed in this pretension, be willing as well as able, to reduce the prerogative within very narrow limits. All menaces therefore, all promises were in vain employed against the king's resolution: He never would be prevailed on to desert his friends, and put himself into the hands of his enemies. And having voluntarily made such important concessions, and tendered, over and over again, such strong limitations, he was well pleased to find them rejected by the obstinacy of the commons; and hoped, that, after the spirit of opposition had spent itself in fruitless violence, the time would come, when he might safely appeal against his parliament to his people.

So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremities, that in less than a week after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion-bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. This bill differed in nothing from the

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1689.

G H A P. former, but in two articles, which showed still
 LXVIII. an increase of zeal in the commons: The bill was
 1680. to be read to the people twice a-year in all the
 churches of the kingdom, and every one, who
 should support the duke's title was rendered
 incapable of receiving a pardon but by act of
 parliament.

THE debates were carried on with great vio-
 lence on both sides. The bill was defended by
 Sir William Jones, who had now resigned his
 office of attorney-general, by lord Ruffel, by
 Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir
 William Pulteney, by colonel Titus, Treby,
 10th Nov. Hambden, Montague. It was opposed by Sir
 Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state, Sir John
 Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer, by Hyde,
 Seymour, Temple. The arguments, transmitted
 to us, may be reduced to the following topics.

Arguments
 for and
 against the
 exclusion.

IN every government, said the exclusionists,
 there is somewhere an authority absolute and
 supreme; nor can any determination, how unusual
 soever, which receives the sanction of the legis-
 lature, admit afterwards of dispute or controul.
 The liberty of a constitution, so far from dimi-
 nishing this absolute power, seems rather to add
 force to it, and to give it greater influence over
 the people. The more members of the state
 concur in any legislative decision, and the more
 free their voice; the less likelihood is there, that
 any opposition will be made to those measures,
 which receive the final sanction of their authority.
 In England; the legislative power is lodged in

king, lords, and commons, which comprehend every order of the community: And there is no pretext for exempting any circumstance of government, not even the succession of the crown, from so full and decisive a jurisdiction. Even express declarations have, in this particular, been made of parliamentary authority: Instances have occurred, where it has been exerted: And though prudential reasons may justly be alledged, why such innovations should not be attempted but on extraordinary occasions, the power and right are for ever vested in the community. But if any occasion can be deemed extraordinary, if any emergency can require unusual expedients, it is the present; when the heir to the crown has renounced the religion of the state, and has zealously embraced a faith, totally hostile and incompatible. A prince of that communion can never put trust in a people, so prejudiced against him: The people must be equally diffident of such a prince: Foreign and destructive alliances will seem to one the only protection of his throne: Perpetual jealousy, opposition, faction, even insurrections will be employed by the other as the sole securities for their liberty and religion. Though theological principles, when set in opposition to passions, have often small influence on mankind in general, still less on princes; yet when they become symbols of faction, and marks of party distinctions, they concur with one of the strongest passions in the human frame, and are then capable of carrying men to the greatest extremities.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1680.

Notwithstanding the better judgment and milder disposition of the king; how much has the influence of the duke already disturbed the tenor of government? How often engaged the nation into measures totally destructive of their foreign interests and honor, of their domestic repose and tranquillity? The more the absurdity and incredibility of the popish plot are insisted on, the stronger reason it affords for the exclusion of the duke; since the universal belief of it discovers the extreme antipathy of the nation to his religion, and the utter impossibility of ever bringing them to acquiesce peaceably under the dominion of such a sovereign. The prince, finding himself in so perilous a situation, must seek for security by desperate remedies, and by totally subduing the privileges of a nation, which had betrayed such hostile dispositions towards himself, and towards every thing which he deems the most sacred. It is in vain to propose limitations and expedients. Whatever share of authority is left in the duke's hands, will be employed to the destruction of the nation; and even the additional restraints, by discovering the public diffidence and aversion, will serve him as incitements to put himself in a condition entirely superior and independent. And as the laws of England still make resistance treason, and neither do nor can admit of any positive exceptions; what folly to leave the kingdom in so perilous and absurd a situation; where the greatest virtue will be exposed to the most severe proscription, and where
the

the laws can only be saved by expedients, which these same laws have declared the highest crime and enormity?

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.

THE court-party reasoned in an opposite manner. An authority, they said, wholly absolute and uncontrollable is a mere chimera, and is nowhere to be found in any human institutions. All government is founded on opinion and a sense of duty; and wherever the supreme magistrate, by any law or positive prescription, shocks an opinion regarded as fundamental, and established with a firmness equal to that of his own authority, he subverts the principle, by which he himself is established, and can no longer hope for obedience. In European monarchies, the right of succession is justly esteemed a fundamental; and even though the whole legislature be vested in a single person, it would never be permitted him by an edict, to disinherit his lawful heir, and call a stranger or more distant relation to the throne. Abuses in other parts of government are capable of redress, from more dispassionate inquiry or better information of the sovereign, and till then ought patiently to be endured: But violations of the right of succession draw such terrible consequences after them as are not to be paralleled by any other grievance or inconvenience. Vainly is it pleaded, that England is a mixed monarchy; and that a law, assented to by king, lords, and commons, is enacted by the concurrence of every part of the state: It is plain, that there remains a very

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1680.

powerful party, who may indeed be out-voted, but who never will deem a law, subversive of hereditary right, any wise valid or obligatory. Limitations, such as are proposed by the king, give no shock to the constitution, which, in many particulars, is already limited; and they may be so calculated as to serve every purpose, sought for by an exclusion. If the ancient barriers against regal authority have been able, during so many ages, to remain impregnable; how much more, those additional ones, which, by depriving the monarch of power, tend so far to their own security? The same jealousy too of religion, which has engaged the people to lay these restraints upon the successor, will extremely lessen the number of his partisans, and make it utterly impracticable for him, either by force or artifice, to break the fetters, imposed upon him. The king's age and vigorous state of health promise him a long life: And can it be prudent to tear in pieces the whole state, in order to provide against a contingency, which, it is very likely, may never happen? No human schemes can secure the public in all possible, imaginable, events; and the bill of exclusion itself, however accurately framed, leaves room for obvious and natural suppositions, to which it pretends not to provide any remedy. Should the duke have a son, after the king's death must that son, without any default of his own, forfeit his title? or must the princess of Orange descend from the throne, in order to give place to the lawful successor?

But were all these reasonings false, it still remains to be considered, that, in public deliberations, we seek not the expedient, which is best in itself, but the best of such as are practicable. The king willingly consents to limitations, and has already offered some which are of the utmost importance: But he is determined to endure any extremity rather than allow the right of succession to be invaded. Let us beware of that factious violence, which leads to demand more than will be granted; lest we lose the advantage of those beneficial concessions, and leave the nation, on the king's demise, at the mercy of a zealous prince, irritated with the ill usage, which, he imagines, he has already met with.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.

IN the house of commons, the reasoning of the exclusionists appeared the more convincing; and the bill passed by a great majority. It was in the house of peers that the king expected to oppose it with success. The court-party was there so prevalent, that it was carried only by a majority of two to pay so much regard to the bill as even to commit it. When it came to be debated, the contest was violent. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex argued for it: Halifax chiefly conducted the debate against it, and displayed an extent of capacity and a force of eloquence, which had never been surpassed in that assembly. He was animated, as well by the greatness of the occasion, as by a rivalry with his uncle Shaftesbury; whom, during that day's debate, he seemed, in the judgment of all, to

15th Nov.

C H A P. LXVIII. 1680.
 Exclusion bill rejected.

have totally eclipsed. The king was present during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night. The bill was thrown out by a considerable majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it. Besides the influence of the court over them; the church of England, they imagined or pretended, was in greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery, which, though favored by the duke, and even by the king, was extremely repugnant to the genius of the nation.

THE commons discovered much ill humor upon this disappointment. They immediately voted an address for the removal of Halifax from the king's councils and presence for ever. Though the pretended cause was his advising the late frequent prorogations of parliament, the real reason was apparently his vigorous opposition to the exclusion-bill. When the king applied for money to enable him to maintain Tangiers, which he declared his present revenues totally unable to defend; instead of complying, they voted such an address as was in reality a remonstrance, and one little less violent than that famous remonstrance, which ushered in the civil wars. All the abuses of government, from the beginning almost of the reign, are there insisted on; the Dutch war, the alliance with France, the prorogations and dissolutions of parliament; and as all these measures, as well as the *damnable* and *hellish* plot, are there ascribed to the machinations of papists, it was plainly insinuated, that the

king had, all along, lain under the influence of that party, and was in reality the chief conspirator against the religion and liberties of his people.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.

THE commons, though they conducted the great business of the exclusion with extreme violence and even imprudence, had yet much reason for the jealousy, which gave rise to it: But their vehement prosecution of the popish plot even after so long an interval, discovers such a spirit, either of credulity or injustice, as admits of no apology. The impeachment of the catholic lords in the Tower was revived; and as viscount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was deemed the least capable of defending himself, it was determined to make him the first victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a sentence against the rest. The chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, was appointed high steward for conducting the trial.

30th Nov.

THREE witnesses were produced against the prisoner; Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore, that he saw Fenwic, the jesuit, deliver to Stafford a commission signed by de Oliva, general of the jesuits, appointing him pay-master to the papal army, which was to be levied for the subduing of England: For this ridiculous imposture still maintained its credit with the commons. Dugdale gave testimony, that the prisoner, at Tixal, a seat of lord Aston's, had endeavoured to engage him in the design of

Trial of
Stafford.

C H A P. LXVIII. 1680. murdering the king; and had promised him, besides the honor of being sainted by the church, a reward of 500 pounds for that service. Turberville deposed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him a like proposal. To offer money for murdering a king, without laying down any scheme, by which the assassin may insure some probability or possibility of escape, is so incredible in itself, and may so easily be maintained by any prostitute evidence, that an accusation of that nature, not accompanied with circumstances, ought very little to be attended to by any court of judicature. But notwithstanding the small hold, which the witnesses afforded, the prisoner was able in many material particulars, to discredit their testimony. It was sworn by Dugdale, that Stafford had assisted in a great consult of the catholics held at Tixal; but Stafford proved by undoubted testimony, that at the time assigned he was in Bath, and in that neighbourhood. Turberville had served a noviciate among the Dominicans; but having deserted the convent, he had enlisted as a trooper in the French army; and being dismissed that service, he now lived in London, abandoned by all his relations, and exposed to great poverty. Stafford proved, by the evidence of his gentleman and his page, that Turberville had never, either at Paris or at London, been seen in his company; and it might justly appear strange, that a person, who had so important a secret in his keeping, was so long entirely neglected by him.

THE clamor and outrage of the populace, during the trial, were extreme: Great abilities and eloquence were displayed by the managers, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, and serjeant Maynard: Yet did the prisoner, under all these disadvantages, make a better defence than was expected, either by his friends or his enemies: The unequal contest, in which he was engaged, was a plentiful source of compassion to every mind, seasoned with humanity. He represented, that, during a course of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, through many dangers, difficulties and losses, still maintained his loyalty: And was it credible, that now, in his old age, easy in his circumstances, but dispirited by infirmities, he would belie the whole course of his life, and engage against his royal master, from whom he had ever received kind treatment, in the most desperate and most bloody of all conspiracies? He remarked the infamy of the witnesses; the contradictions and absurdities of their testimony; the extreme indigence in which they had lived, though engaged, as they pretended, in a conspiracy with kings, princes, and nobles; the credit and opulence to which they were at present raised. With a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he still made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprise and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witnesses.

CHAP.

LXVIII.

1680.

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1680.

IT will appear astonishing to us, as it did to Stafford himself, that the peers, after a solemn trial of six days, should, by a majority of twenty-four voices, give sentence against him. He received however with resignation the fatal verdict. *God's holy name be praised*, was the only exclamation which he uttered. When the high-steward told him, that the peers would intercede with the king for remitting the more cruel and ignominious parts of the sentence, hanging and quartering, he burst into tears: But he told the lords, that he was moved to this weakness, by his sense of their goodness, not by any terror of that fate, which he was doomed to suffer.

IT is remarkable, that, after Charles, as is usual in such cases, had remitted to Stafford the hanging and quartering, the two sheriffs, Bethel and Cornish, indulging their own republican humor, and complying with the prevalent spirit of their party, ever jealous of monarchy, started a doubt with regard to the king's power of exercising even this small degree of lenity. "Since he cannot pardon the whole," said they, "how can he have power to remit any part of the sentence?" They proposed the doubt to both houses: The peers pronounced it superfluous; and even the commons, apprehensive lest a question of this nature might make way for Stafford's escape, gave this singular answer. "This house is content, that the sheriffs do execute William late viscount Stafford by severing his head from his body *only*." Nothing can be a

stronger proof of the fury of the times, than that lord Russel, notwithstanding the virtue and humanity of his character, seconded in the house this barbarous scruple of the sheriffs.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1689.

IN the interval between the sentence and execution, many efforts were made to shake the resolution of the infirm and aged prisoner, and to bring him to some confession of the treason, for which he was condemned. It was even rumored, that he had confessed; and the zealous partymen, who, no doubt, had secretly, notwithstanding their credulity, entertained some doubts with regard to the reality of the popish conspiracy, expressed great triumph on the occasion. But Stafford, when again called before the house of peers, discovered many schemes, which had been laid by himself and others for procuring a toleration to the catholics, at least a mitigation of the penal laws, enacted against them: And he protested, that this was the sole treason, of which he had ever been guilty.

STAFFORD now prepared himself for death with the intrepidity, which became his birth and station, and which was the natural result of the innocence and integrity, which, during the course of a long life, he had ever maintained: His mind seemed even to collect new force from the violence and oppression, under which he labored. When going to execution, he called for a cloak to defend him against the rigor of the season. "Perhaps," said he "I may shake with cold; but, I trust in God, not for fear." On the

29th Dec.
and execu-
tion.

C H A P. scaffold, he continued, with reiterated and earnest
 LXVIII. asseverations, to make protestations of his inno-
 1680. cence: All his fervor was exercised on that point:
 When he mentioned the witnesses, whose per-
 juries had bereaved him of life, his expressions
 were full of mildness and of charity. He solemnly
 disavowed all those immoral principles, which
 over-zealous protestants had ascribed without
 distinction to the church of Rome: And he
 hoped, he said, that the time was now approach-
 ing, when the present delusion would be diffi-
 pated; and when the force of truth, though late,
 would engage the whole world to make repara-
 tion to his injured honor.

THE populace, who had exulted at Stafford's
 trial and condemnation, were now melted into
 tears, at the sight of that tender fortitude, which
 shone forth in each feature, and motion, and
 accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence
 was only interrupted by sighs and groans: With
 difficulty they found speech to assent to those
 protestations of innocence, which he frequently
 repeated: "We believe you, my lord! God
 bless you, my lord!" These expressions with a
 faltering accent flowed from them. The exe-
 cutioner himself was touched with sympathy.
 Twice he lifted up the ax, with an intent to
 strike the fatal blow; and as often felt his
 resolution to fail him. A deep sigh was heard
 to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford
 for ever at rest. All the spectators seemed to
 feel the blow. And when the head was held up

to them, with the usual cry, *This is the head of* C H A P.
a traitor, no clamor of assent was uttered. Pity, LXVIII.
 remorse, and astonishment had taken possession 1680.
 of every heart, and displayed itself in every
 countenance.

THIS is the last blood which was shed on account of the popish plot: An incident, which, for the credit of the nation, it were better to bury in eternal oblivion; but which it is necessary to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, their posterity and all mankind never again to fall into so shameful, so barbarous a delusion.

THE execution of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country-party; but it contributed nothing to their power and security: On the contrary, by exciting commiseration, it tended still farther to increase that disbelief of the whole plot, which began now to prevail. The commons, therefore, not to lose the present opportunity, resolved to make both friends and enemies sensible of their power. They passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing the persecuting statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth: This laudable bill was likewise carried through the house of peers. The chief justice was very obnoxious for dismissing the grand jury in an irregular manner, and thereby disappointing that bold measure of Shaftesbury and his friends, who had presented the duke as a recusant. For this crime the commons sent up an impeachment against him; as also against Jones and Weston,

C H A P. two of the judges, who, in some speeches from
 LXVIII. the bench, had gone so far as to give to many
 1680. of the first reformers the appellation of fanatics.

THE king, in rejecting the exclusion bill, had sheltered himself securely behind the authority of the house of peers; and the commons had been deprived of the usual pretence, to attack the sovereign himself, under color of attacking his ministers and counsellors. In prosecution however of the scheme, which he had formed, of throwing the blame on the commons in case of any rupture, he made them a new speech. After warning them, that a neglect of this opportunity would never be retrieved, he added these words: “ I did promise you the fullest satisfaction, which
 “ your hearts could wish, for the security of the
 “ protestant religion, and to concur with you
 “ in any remedies, which might consist with
 “ preserving the succession of the crown in its
 “ due and legal course of descent. I do again,
 “ with the same reservations, renew the same
 “ promises to you: And being thus ready on
 “ my part to do all that can reasonably be
 “ expected from me, I should be glad to know
 “ from you, as soon as may be, how far I shall
 “ be assisted by you, and what it is you desire
 “ from me. ”

THE most reasonable objection against the limitations, proposed by the king, is, that they introduced too considerable an innovation in the government, and almost totally annihilated the power of the future monarch. But considering

the present disposition of the commons and their leaders, we may fairly presume, that this objection would have small weight with them, and that their disgust against the court would rather incline them to diminish than support regal authority. They still hoped, from the king's urgent necessities and his usual facility, that he would throw himself wholly into their hands; and that thus, without waiting for the accession of the duke, they might immediately render themselves absolute masters of the government. The commons, therefore, besides insisting still on the exclusion, proceeded to bring in bills of an important, and some of them of an alarming nature: One to renew the triennial act, which had been so inadvertently repealed in the beginning of the reign: A second to make the office of judge during good behaviour: A third to declare the levying of money without consent of parliament to be high treason: A fourth to order an association for the safety of his majesty's person, for defence of the protestant religion, for the preservation of the protestant subjects against all invasions and opposition whatsoever, and for preventing the duke of York or any papist from succeeding to the crown. The memory of the covenant was too recent for men to overlook the consequences of such an association: And the king, who was particularly conversant in Davila, could not fail of recollecting a memorable foreign instance, to fortify this domestic experience.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1680.

Violence of
the commons.

THE commons also passed many votes, which,

C H A P. though they had not the authority of laws, served
LXVIII. however to discover the temper and disposition of
 1680. the house. They voted, that whoever had advised his majesty to refuse the exclusion bill, were promoters of popery and enemies to the king and kingdom. In another vote, they named the marquis of Worcester, the earls of Clarendon, Feversham, and Halifax, Laurence Hyde, and Edward Seymour, as those dangerous enemies; and they requested his majesty to remove them from his person and councils for ever: They voted, that, till the exclusion bill were passed, they could not, consistent with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any manner of supply. And lest he should be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independent, they passed another vote, in which they declared, that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon those branches of the king's revenue, arising from customs, excise, or hearth-money, should be judged a hinderer of the sitting of parliament, and be responsible for the same in parliament.

THE king might presume, that the peers, who had rejected the exclusion bill, would still continue to defend the throne, and that none of the dangerous bills, introduced into the other house, would ever be presented for the royal assent and approbation. But as there remained no hopes of bringing the commons to any better temper, and as their farther sitting served only to keep faction

alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation, he came secretly to a resolution of proroguing them. They got intelligence about a quarter of an hour before the black rod came to their door. Not to lose such precious time, they passed in a tumultuous manner some extraordinary resolutions. They voted, *that* whosoever advised his majesty to prorogue this parliament to any other purpose than in order to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the king, of the protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France: *That* thanks be given to the city of London for their manifest loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preservation of the king and of the protestant religion: *That* it is the opinion of this house, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: *That* humble application be made to his majesty for restoring the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which, it appears to the house, he had been removed by the influence of the duke of York. And *that* it is the opinion of the house that the prosecution of the protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement of popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

THE king passed some laws of no great importance: But the bill for repealing the thirty-fifth of

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1685.

10th Jan.

Dissolution
of the par-
liament.

C H A P. Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the
 LXVIII. crown not to present to him. By this artifice,
 1681. which was equally disobliging to the country
 party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the
 same time implied some timidity in the king,
 that salutary act was for the present eluded. The
 king had often of himself attempted, and some-
 times by irregular means, to give indulgence to
 nonconformists: But besides that he had usually
 expected to comprehend the catholics in this
 liberty, the present refractory disposition of the
 sectaries had much incensed him against them;
 and he was resolved, if possible, to keep them
 still at mercy.

THE last votes of the commons seemed to be
 an attempt of forming indirectly an association
 against the crown, after they found, that their
 association bill could not pass: The dissenting
 interest, the city, and the duke of Monmouth,
 they endeavoured to connect with the country
 party. A civil war indeed never appeared so
 likely as at present; and it was high time for the
 king to dissolve a parliament, which seemed to
 have entertained such dangerous projects. Soon
 after, he summoned another. Though he observed,
 that the country-party had established their interest
 so strongly in all the electing boroughs, that he
 could not hope for any disposition more favorable
 in the new parliament, this expedient was still a
 prosecution of his former project, of trying every
 method, by which he might form an accommo-
 dation with the commons: And if all failed, he
 hoped,

hoped, that he could the better justify to his people, at least to his party, a final breach with them.

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1681.

It had always been much regretted by the royalists, during the civil wars, that the long parliament had been assembled at Westminster, and had thereby received force and encouragement from the vicinity of a potent and factious city, which had zealously embraced their party. Though the king was now possessed of guards, which in some measure overawed the populace, he was determined still farther to obviate all inconveniences; and he summoned the new parliament to meet at Oxford. The city of London showed how just a judgment he had formed of their dispositions. Besides re-electing the same members, they voted thanks to them for their former behaviour, in endeavouring to discover the depth of the *horrid* and *hellish* popish plot, and to exclude the duke of York, the principal cause of the ruin and misery, impending over the nation. Monmouth with fifteen peers presented a petition against assembling the parliament at Oxford, "where the two houses," they said, "could not be in safety; but would be easily exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept into his majesty's guards." These insinuations, which pointed so evidently at the king himself, were not calculated to persuade him, but to inflame the people.

THE exclusionists might have concluded, both

VOL. XI.

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C H A P. from the king's dissolution of the last parliament,
 LXVIII. and from his summoning of the present to meet
 1681. at Oxford, that he was determined to maintain
 his declared resolution of rejecting their favorite
 bill: But they still flattered themselves, that his
 urgent necessities would influence his easy temper,
 and finally gain them the ascendant. The leaders
 came to parliament, attended not only by their
 servants, but by numerous bands of their parti-
 fans. The four city members in particular were
 followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons,
 in which were woven these words, *No popery!*
No slavery! The king had his guards regularly
 mustered: His party likewise endeavoured to
 make a show of their strength: And on the
 whole, the assembly at Oxford rather bore the
 appearance of a tumultuous Polish diet, than of
 a regular English parliament.

21st March.

New parlia-
 ment at Ox-
 ford.

THE king, who had hitherto employed the
 most gracious expressions to all his parliaments,
 particularly the two last, thought proper to address
 himself to the present in a more authoritative
 manner. He complained of the unwarrantable
 proceedings of the former house of commons;
 and said, that, as he would never use arbitrary
 government himself, neither would he ever suffer
 it in others. By calling, however, this parliament
 so soon, he had sufficiently shown, that no past
 irregularities could inspire him with a prejudice
 against those assemblies. He now afforded them,
 he added, yet another opportunity of providing
 for the public safety; and to all the world had

given one evidence more, that on his part he C H A P.
LXVIII.
had not neglected the duty incumbent on him. 1681.

THE commons were not over-awed by the magisterial air of the king's speech. They consisted almost entirely of the same members; they chose the same speaker; and they instantly fell into the same measures, the impeachment of Danby, the repeal of the persecuting statute of Elizabeth, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that no other expedient, however plausible, could so much as be hearkened to. Early, one of the king's ministers, proposed, that the duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, and that on the king's demise the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power: Yet even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not, though seconded by Sir Thomas Lyttleton and Sir Thomas Mompeyson, obtain the attention of the house. The past disappointments of the country-party, and the opposition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No method but their own, of excluding the duke, could give them any satisfaction.

THERE was one Fitz-harris, an Irish catholic, Fitz-harris's
case. who had insinuated himself into the dutchess of Portsmouth's acquaintance, and had been very busy in conveying to her intelligence of any libel written by the country-party, or of any designs entertained against her or against the court. For

C H A P. LXVIII. 1681. services of this kind, and perhaps too from a regard to his father, Sir Edward Fitz-harris, who had been an eminent royalist, he had received from the king a present of 250 pounds. This man met with one Everard, a Scotchman, a spy of the exclusionists, and an informer concerning the popish plot; and he engaged him to write a libel against the king, the duke, and the whole administration. What Fitz-harris's intentions were, cannot well be ascertained: It is probable, as he afterwards asserted, that he meant to carry this libel to his patron, the dutchess, and to make a merit of the discovery. Everard, who suspected some other design, and who was well pleased on his side to have the merit of a discovery with his patrons, resolved to betray his friend: He posted Sir William Waller, a noted justice of peace, and two persons more behind the hangings, and gave them an opportunity of seeing and hearing the whole transaction. The libel, sketched out by Fitz-harris, and executed partly by him, partly by Everard, was the most furious, indecent, and outrageous performance imaginable; and such as was fitter to hurt than serve any party, which should be so imprudent as to adopt it. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitz-harris, who happened, at that very time, to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himself now delivered over to the law, he resolved to pay court to the popular party, who were alone able to protect him, and by

whom he observed almost all trials to be governed and directed. He affirmed, that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the exclusionists : But this account, which was within the bounds of credibility, he disgraced by circumstances, which are altogether absurd and improbable. The intention of the ministers, he said, was to send about copies to all the heads of the country-party, and the moment they received them, they were to be arrested, and a conspiracy to be imputed to them. That he might merit favor by still more important intelligence, he commenced a discoverer of the great popish plot; and he failed not to confirm all the tremendous circumstances, insisted on by his predecessors. He said, that the second Dutch war was entered into with a view of extirpating the protestant religion, both abroad and at home; that father Parry, a jesuit, on the disappointment by the peace, told him, that the catholics resolved to murder the king, and had even engaged the queen in that design; that the envoy of Modena offered him 10,000 pounds to kill the king, and upon his refusal the envoy said, that the dutchess of Mazarine, who was as expert at poisoning as her sister, the countess of Soissons, would, with a little phial, execute that design; that upon the king's death the army in Flanders was to come over, and massacre the protestants; that money was raised in Italy for recruits and supplies, and there should be no more parlia-

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1681.

C H A P. ments; and that the duke was privy to this
 LXVIII. whole plan, and had even entered into the design
 1681. of Godfrey's murder, which was executed in the
 manner related by Prance.

THE popular leaders had, all along, been very desirous of having an accusation against the duke; and though Oates and Bedloe, in their first evidence, had not dared to go so far, both Dugdale and Dangerfield had afterwards been encouraged to supply so material a defect, by comprehending him in the conspiracy. The commons, therefore, finding that Fitz-harris was also willing to serve this purpose, were not ashamed to adopt his evidence and resolved for that end to save him from the destruction, with which he was at present threatened. The king had removed him from the city-prison, where he was exposed to be tampered with by the exclusionists; had sent him to the Tower; and had ordered him to be prosecuted by an indictment at common law. In order to prevent his trial and execution, an impeachment was voted by the commons against him, and sent up to the lords. That they might show the greater contempt of the court, they ordered by way of derision, that the impeachment should be carried up by secretary Jenkins; who was so provoked by the intended affront, that he at first refused obedience; though afterwards, being threatened with commitment, he was induced to comply. The lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, before whom, as

the attorney-general informed them, it was already determined to try Fitz-harris. The commons maintained, that the peers were obliged to receive every impeachment from the commons; and this indeed seems to have been the first instance of their refusal: They therefore voted, that the lords, in rejecting their impeachment, had denied justice, and had violated the constitution of parliament. They also declared, that whatever inferior court should proceed against Fitz-harris, or any one that lay under impeachment, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege. Great heats were likely to ensue; and as the king saw no appearance of any better temper in the commons, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, afforded by a quarrel between the two houses; and he proceeded to a dissolution of the parliament. The secret was so well kept, that the commons had no intimation of it, till the black rod came to their door, and summoned them to attend the king at the house of peers.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1681.

Parliament
dissolved.

THIS vigorous measure, though it might have been foreseen, excited such astonishment in the country-party, as deprived them of all spirit, and reduced them to absolute despair. They were sensible, though too late, that the king had finally taken his resolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than submit to those terms, which they had resolved to impose upon him. They found, that he had patiently waited till affairs should come to full maturity; and having now engaged a national party on his

C H A P. LXVIII. 1681. side, had boldly set his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be summoned for some years; and during that long interval, the court, though perhaps at the head of an inferior party, yet being possessed of all authority, would have every advantage over a body, dispersed and disunited. These reflections crowded upon every one; and all the exclusionists were terrified, lest Charles should follow the blow by some action more violent, and immediately take vengeance on them for their long and obstinate opposition to his measures. The king on his part was no less apprehensive, lest despair might prompt them to have recourse to force, and make some sudden attempt upon his person. Both parties therefore hurried from Oxford; and in an instant, that city, so crowded and busy, was left in its usual emptiness and tranquillity.

Victory of
the royalists.

THE court-party gathered force from the dispersion and astonishment of their antagonists, and adhered more firmly to the king, whose resolutions, they now saw, could be entirely depended on. The violences of the exclusionists were every where exclaimed against and aggravated; and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was openly called in question. The clergy especially were busy in this great revolution; and being moved, partly by their own fears, partly by the insinuations of the court, they represented all their antagonists as sectaries and republicans, and rejoiced in escaping those perils, which they believed to have

been hanging over them. Principles the most C H A P.
 opposite to civil liberty, were every where in- LXVIII.
 forced from the pulpit, and adopted in numerous 1681.
 addressees; where the king was flattered in his
 present measures, and congratulated on his escape
 from parliaments. Could words have been de-
 pended on, the nation appeared to be running
 fast into voluntary servitude, and seemed even
 ambitious of resigning into the king's hands all
 the privileges, transmitted to them, through so
 many ages, by their gallant ancestors.

BUT Charles had sagacity enough to distinguish
 between men's real internal sentiments, and the
 language, which zeal and opposition to a con-
 trary faction may sometimes extort from them.
 Notwithstanding all these professions of duty and
 obedience, he was resolved not to trust, for a
 long time, the people with a new election, but
 to depend entirely on his own œconomy for alle-
 viating those necessities, under which he labored.
 Great retrenchments were made in the household:
 Even his favorite navy was neglected: Tangiers,
 though it had cost great sums of money, was a
 few years after abandoned and demolished. The
 mole was entirely destroyed; and the garrison,
 being brought over to England, served to aug-
 ment that small army, which the king relied on,
 as the solid basis of his authority. It had been
 happy for the nation, had Charles used his
 victory with justice and moderation equal to the
 prudence and dexterity, with which he obtained it.

THE first step, taken by the court, was the

C. H. A. P. trial of Fitz-harris. Doubts were raised by the
 LXVIII. jury with regard to their power of trying him,
 1681. after the concluding vote of the commons: But the judges took upon them to decide the question in the affirmative; and the jury were obliged to proceed, The writing of the libel was clearly proved upon Fitz-harris: The only question was with regard to his intentions. He asserted, that he was a spy of the court, and had accordingly carried the libel to the dutchess of Portsmouth; and he was desirous, that the jury should, in this transaction, consider him as a cheat, not as a traitor. He failed however somewhat in the proof; and was brought in guilty of treason by the jury.

FINDING himself entirely in the hands of the king, he now retracted all his former impostures with regard to the popish plot, and even endeavoured to atone for them by new impostures against the country-party. He affirmed, that these fictions had been extorted from him by the suggestions and artifices of Treby the recorder, and of Bethel and Cornish, the two sheriffs: This account he persisted in even at his execution; and though men knew, that nothing could be depended on, which came from one so corrupt, and so lost to all sense of honor; yet were they inclined, from his perseverance, to rely somewhat more on his veracity in these last asseverations. But it appears, that his wife had some connexions with Mrs. Wall, the favorite maid of the dutchess of Portsmouth; and Fitz-harris hoped, if he per-

fisted in a story agreeable to the court, that some favor might, on that account, be shown to his family.

C H A P.
LXVIII.
1681.

It is amusing to reflect on the several lights, in which this story has been represented by the opposite factions. The country-party affirmed, that Fitz-harris had been employed by the court, in order to throw the odium of the libel on the exclusionists, and thereby give rise to a protestant plot: The court-party maintained, that the exclusionists had found out Fitz-harris, a spy of the ministers, and had set him upon this undertaking, from an intention of loading the court with the imputation of such a design upon the exclusionists. Rather than acquit their antagonists, both sides were willing to adopt an account the most intricate and incredible. It was a strange situation, in which the people, at this time, were placed; to be every day tortured with these perplexed stories, and inflamed with such dark suspicions against their fellow-citizens. This was no less than the fifteenth false plot, or sham-plot, as they were then called, with which the court, it was imagined, had endeavoured to load their adversaries^s.

THE country-party had intended to make use of Fitz-harris's evidence against the duke and the catholics; and his execution was therefore a great mortification to them. But the king and his ministers were resolved not to be contented with

^s College's trial.

C H A P. so slender an advantage. They were determined
 LXVIII. to pursue the victory, and to employ against
 1691. the exclusionists those very offensive arms, however unfair, which that party had laid up in store against their antagonists. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the ministers. To the disgrace of the court and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome; and their testimony or rather perjury made use of, in order to commit legal murder upon the opposite party. With an air of triumph and derision it was asked, "Are not these men good witnesses, who have established the popish plot, upon whose testimony Stafford and so many catholics have been executed, and whom you yourselves have so long celebrated as men of credit and veracity? You have admitted them into your bosom: They are best acquainted with your treasons: They are determined in another shape to serve their king and country: And you cannot complain, that the same measure, which you meted to others, should now, by a righteous doom or vengeance, be measured out to you."

It is certain, that the principle of retaliation may serve in some cases as a full apology, in others as an alleviation, for a conduct which would otherwise be exposed to great blame.

But these infamous arts, which poison justice in its very source, and break all the bands of human society, are so detestable and dangerous, that no pretence of retaliation can be pleaded as an apology or even an alleviation of the crime incurred by them. On the contrary, the greater indignation the king and his ministers felt, when formerly exposed to the perjuries of abandoned men, the more reluctance should they now have discovered against employing the same instruments of vengeance upon their antagonists.

C H A P.

LXVIII.

1681.

THE first person, on whom the ministers fell, was one College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal against popery, and was much connected with Shaftesbury and the leaders of the country-party: For as they relied much upon the populace, men of College's rank and station were useful to them. College had been in Oxford armed with sword and pistol during the sitting of the parliament; and this was made the foundation of his crime. It was pretended that a conspiracy had been entered into to seize the king's person, and detain him in confinement, till he should make the concessions demanded of him. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and it was not strange, that the grand jury named by them rejected the bill against College. The prisoner was therefore sent to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed. Lord Norris, a courtier, was sheriff of the county; and the inhabitants were in general devoted to

C H A P. the court-party. A jury was named, consisting
 LXVIII. entirely of royalists; and though they were men
 1681. of credit and character, yet such was the factious
 rage, which prevailed, that little justice could
 be expected by the prisoner. Some papers, con-
 taining hints and directions for his defence, were
 taken from him, as he was conducted to his trial:
 An iniquity, which some pretended to justify by
 alledging, that a like violence had been practised
 against a prisoner during the fury of the popish
 plot. Such wild notions of retaliation were at
 that time propagated by the court-party.

THE witnesses produced against College were
 Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, Smith; men
 who had before given evidence against the ca-
 tholics, and whom the jury, for that very reason,
 regarded as the most perjured villains. College,
 though beset with so many toils, and oppressed
 with so many iniquities, defended himself with
 spirit, courage, capacity, presence of mind; and
 he invalidated the evidence of the crown, by
 convincing arguments and undoubted testimony:
 Yet did the jury, after half an hour's deliberation,
 bring in a verdict against him. The inhuman
 spectators received the verdict with a shout of
 applause: But the prisoner was nowise dismayed.
 At his execution, he maintained the same manly
 fortitude, and still denied the crime imputed to
 him. His whole conduct and demeanour prove
 him to have been a man led astray only by the
 fury of the times, and to have been governed by

an honest, but indiscreet zeal for his country and his religion. C H A P.

LXVIII.

1681.

THUS the two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poisoned daggers the most deadly blows against each other's breast, and buried in their factious divisions all regard to truth, honor, and humanity.

N O T E S
T O T H E
E L E V E N T H V O L U M E :

NOTE [A], p. 98.

THE articles were, that he had advised the king to govern by military power without parliaments, that he had affirmed the king to be a papist or popishly affected, that he had received great sums of money for procuring the Canary patent and other illegal patents, that he had advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law, in remote islands and garrisons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law, that he had procured the customs to be farmed at under-rates, that he had received great sums from the Vintners' company, for allowing them to enhance the price of wines, that he had in a short time gained a greater estate than could have been supposed to arise from the profits of his offices, that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majesty's plantations, that he had rejected a proposal for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's, which was the occasion of great losses in those parts, that when he was in his majesty's service beyond sea he held a correspondence with Cromwel and his accomplices, that he advised the sale of Dunkirk, that he had unduly altered letters-patent under the king's seal, that he had unduly decided causes in council, which should have been brought before chancery, that he had issued quo warrantos against corporations with an intention of squeezing money from them, that he had taken money for passing the bill of settlement in Ireland, that he betrayed
the

the nation in all foreign treaties, and that he was the principal adviser of dividing the fleet in June 1666.

NOTE [B], p. 136.

THE abstract of the report of the Brook-house-committee (so that committee was called) was first published by Mr. Ralph, vol. i. p. 177. from lord Hallifax's collections, to which I refer. If we peruse their apology, which we find in the subsequent page of the same author, we shall find, that they acted with some malignity towards the king. They would take notice of no services performed before the 1st of September 1664. But all the king's preparations preceded that date, and as chancellor Clarendon told the parliament, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, and the computation is very probable. This sum, therefore, must be added. The committee likewise charged seven hundred thousand pounds to the king on account of the winter and summer guards, saved during two years and ten months that the war lasted. But this seems iniquitous. For though that was an usual burthen on the revenue, which was then saved; would not the diminution of the customs during the war be an equivalent to it? Besides, near three hundred and forty thousand pounds are charged for prize-money, which perhaps the king thought he ought not to account for. These sums exceed the million and a half.

NOTE [C], p. 145.

GOURVILLE has said in his memoirs, vol. ii. p. 14. 67. that Charles was never sincere in the triple alliance; and that, having entertained a violent animosity against de Wit, he endeavoured, by this artifice, to detach him from the French alliance with a view of

afterwards finding an opportunity to satiate his vengeance upon him. This account, though very little honorable to the king's memory, seems probable from the events, as well as from the authority of the author.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

Hume, David, 1711-1776

The History Of England From The Invasion Of Julius Caesar To The
Revolution in 1688.

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